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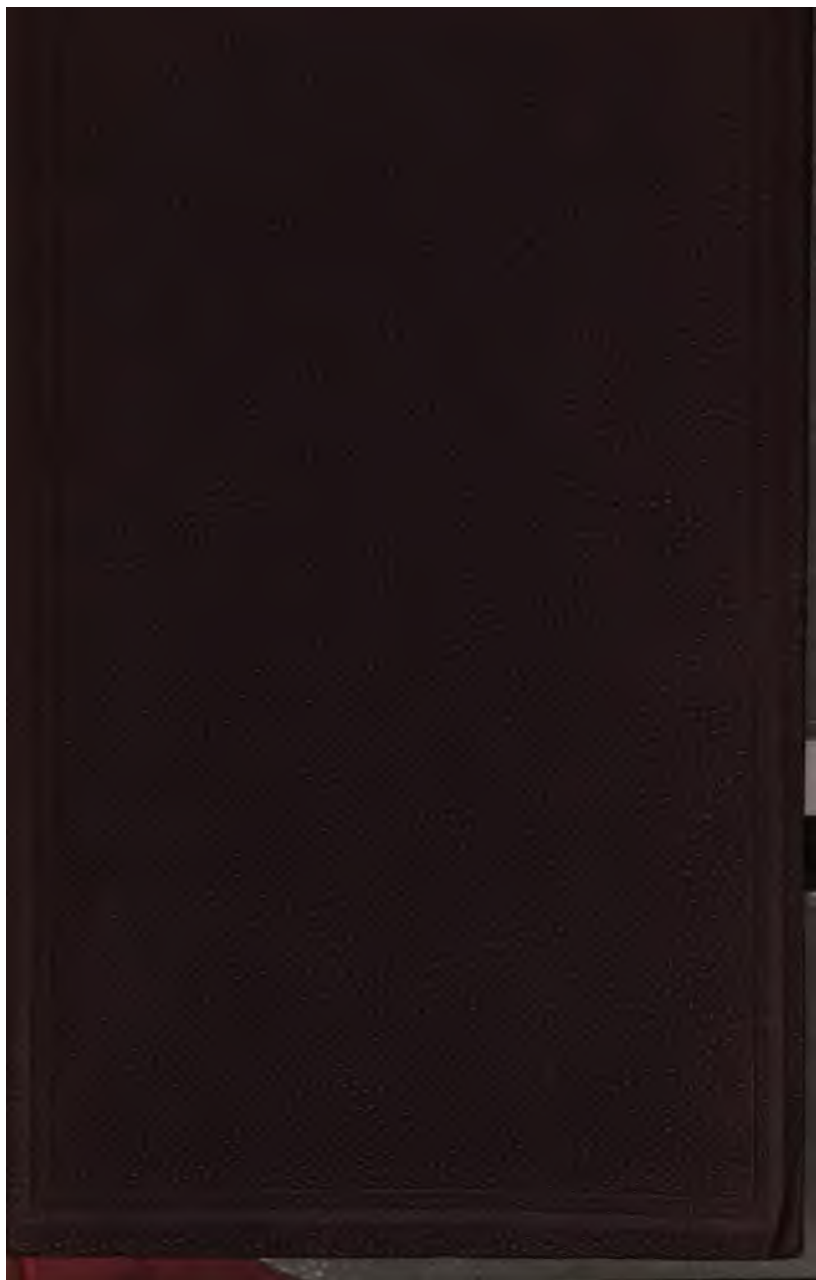
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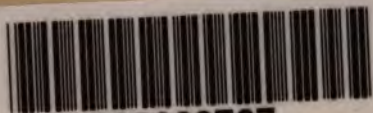
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ANALYSIS
OF
THE HISTORY OF GERMANY.

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ANALYSIS
OF
THE HISTORY OF GERMANY:

WITH BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM
STANDARD AUTHORITIES.

CONTINUED DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
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LATE DEMY AND EXHIBITIONER OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; HEAD
MASTER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTION SCHOOL, LIVERPOOL; AUTHOR
OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND
FINANCE, OF ROME, AND OF GREECE.

LONDON:
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1866.

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240. g. 4.



THE following Analysis has been constructed upon the same principles and the same method, as was employed in those which I have already published, on the Histories of Greece, Rome, France, and England. The favourable reception which they have met with has encouraged me to pursue my task in reference to the history of Germany. The wide extent of my subject has rendered it impossible for me to do more than to attempt a slight outline of the leading events which it comprises.

Those who are best acquainted with the immense number and complex nature of these events, will, I am sure, be the most indulgent to the errors and omissions which I cannot but fear this little treatise will present to critical eyes.

As heretofore, I have to acknowledge my great obligations to all the works of standard authority on the subject before me, which I was able to consult; but it would be injustice not to particularize the admirable Essay of Mr. Bryce on *the Holy Roman Empire*. As



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usual, also, I beg to thank the kind friends who have given me the benefit of their advice, and their revision of this work while passing through the press; in particular my sister, Lady Hooker, the Rev. Dr. J. G. Sheppard, of Kidderminster Grammar School, Professor James Lonsdale, of King's College, London, and Mr. F. M. Haines, of Christ College, Cambridge.

I ought to add, that 'The Sketch of the German Confederation, as at present existing,' was specially written for me by Dr. F. Weinmann, of the University of Berlin; and the article in the Appendix on the derivation of the word *Deutsch* kindly communicated by my friend Professor Max. Müller.

DAWSON W. TURNER, D.C.L.

ROYAL INSTITUTION SCHOOL, LIVERPOOL:

Nov. 1865.

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PREFACE.

‘ If traced from its first origin to its final extinction, the Holy Roman Empire stretches over a compass of well nigh two thousand years. Its foundations were laid by the greatest constructive genius the world has ever seen. It was finally destroyed by one, who to his contemporaries seemed the very archangel of destruction. Yet his contemporaries are our contemporaries, while the contemporaries of its creator were the companions of Cicero, of Sulla, of Marius, and of the Gracchi. Inquire into its extinction, and you meet the great name of Napoleon. Inquire into its origin, and you meet the still greater name of Caius Julius Caesar. The epitaph that Caesar uttered over the aristocratic government of Rome, according to Suetonius—“*Nihil esse rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie*”—might have been with equal truth pronounced by Napoleon, over the empire erected on the ruins of the government by Caesar.’—*West. Rev.*, Oct. 1865.

‘ Of those who in August, 1806, read in the English newspapers that the Emperor Francis II. had announced to the Diet his resignation of the imperial crown, there were probably few who bethought them that the oldest political institution in the world had ended. Yet it was so. The empire, which a note issued by a diplomatist on the banks of the Danube extinguished, was the same which the crafty nephew of Julius had won for himself against the powers of the East, beneath the cliffs of Actium; and which had preserved almost unaltered, through eighteen centuries of time, and through the greatest changes, in extent, in power, in character, a title and pretensions from which all meaning had long since departed. Nothing else so directly linked the Old world to the New; nothing else displayed so many strange contrasts of the present and the past, and summed up in those contrasts so much of European history. To trace its career with any minuteness would be to write the history of Christendom from the fifth century to the twelfth, of Germany and Italy from the twelfth to the nineteenth. Even a narrative of more restricted scope, which should attempt to disengage from a general account of the affairs of those countries the events that properly belong to imperial history, could hardly be compressed within reasonable limits.

‘ The several limbs of the empire forgot by degrees their original unity. As in the breaking up of the old society, which we trace from the sixth to the eighth century, rudeness and ignorance grew apace; as language and manners were changed by the infiltration of Teutonic settlers; as men’s thoughts, and hopes, and interests, were narrowed by isolation from their fellows; as the organisation of the Roman province and the Germanic tribe alike dissolved into a chaos whence the new order began to shape itself, dimly and doubtfully as yet, the memory of the old Empire, its symmetry, its sway, its civilisation, must needs wane and fade. It might have perished altogether but for the two enduring witnesses Rome had left—her church

and her law. The barbarians had at first associated Christianity with the Romans from whom they learned it: the latter had used it as their only bulwark against oppression. The hierarchy were the natural leaders of the people, and the necessary councillors of the king. Their power grew with the extinction of civil government and the spread of superstition; and when the Frank found it too valuable to be abandoned to the vanquished people, he insensibly acquired the feelings and policy of the order he entered. As the empire fell to pieces, and the new kingdoms themselves began to dissolve, the church clung more closely to her unity of faith and discipline, the common bond of all Christian men. That unity must have a centre; that centre was Rome. A succession of able and zealous pontiffs extended her influence (the sanctity and the writings of Gregory the Great were famous through all the West): never occupied by barbarians, she retained her peculiar character and customs, and laid the foundations of a power over men's souls more durable than that she had lost over their bodies. Only second in importance to this influence was that which was exercised by the permanence of the old law, and of its creature the municipality. The barbarian invaders retained the customs of their ancestors, characteristic memorials of a rude people, as we see them in the Salic law or in the ordinances of Ina and Alfred. But the subject population and the clergy continued to be governed by that elaborate system which the genius and labour of many generations had raised to be the most lasting monument of Roman greatness. The civil war had maintained itself in Spain and Southern Gaul; nor was it quite forgotten even in the North, in Britain, on the borders of Germany. Revised editions of the Theodosian code were issued by the Visigothic and Burgundian princes. For some centuries it was the patrimony of the subject population everywhere, and in Aquitaine and Italy has outlived feudalism. The presumption in later times was that all men were to be judged by it who could not be proved to be subject to some other. Its phrases, its forms, its courts, its subtlety and precision, all recalled the strong and refined society which had produced it. Other motives, as well as those of kindness to their subjects, made the new kings favour it; for it exalted their prerogative, and the submission enjoined on one class of their subjects soon came to be demanded from the other, by their own laws the equals of the prince. Considering attentively how many of the old institutions continued to subsist, and studying the feelings of that time, as they are faintly preserved in its scanty records, it seems hardly too much to say that in the eighth century the Roman Empire still existed, existed in men's minds as a power weakened, delegated, suspended, but not destroyed.—*Bryce, H. R. E.*

SKETCH OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

(Abridged from Robertson's *Introduction to the History of Charles V.*)

'The Empire of Charlemagne was a structure erected in so short a time that it could not be permanent. Under his immediate successor it began to totter, and soon after fell to pieces. The crown of Germany was separated from that of France, and the descendants of Charlemagne established two great monarchies so situated as to give rise to a perpetual rivalry and enmity between them. But the princes of the race of Charlemagne who

were placed on the imperial throne were not altogether so degenerate as those of the same family who reigned in France. In the hands of the former the royal authority retained some vigour, and the nobles of Germany, though possessed of extensive privileges as well as ample territories, did not so early attain independence. The great offices of the crown continued to be at the disposal of the sovereign, and during a long period fiefs remained in their original state, without becoming hereditary and perpetual in the families of the persons to whom they had been granted.

At length the German branch of the family of Charlemagne became extinct, and his feeble descendants who reigned in France had sunk into such contempt that the Germans, without looking towards them, exercised the right inherent in a free people, and in a general assembly of the nation elected Conrad, Count of Franconia, emperor. After him Henry of Saxony, and his descendants, the three Othos, were placed, in succession, on the imperial throne by the suffrages of their countrymen. The extensive territories of the Saxon Emperors, their eminent abilities and enterprising genius, not only added new vigour to the imperial dignity, but raised it to higher power and pre-eminence. Otho the Great marched at the head of a numerous army into Italy, and, after the example of Charlemagne, gave law to that country. Every power there recognised his authority. He created popes, and deposed them, by his sovereign mandate. He annexed the kingdom of Italy to the German Empire. Elated with his success, he assumed the title of Cæsar Augustus. A prince, born in the heart of Germany, pretended to be the successor of the emperors of ancient Rome, and claimed a right to the same power and prerogative.

But while the Emperors, by means of these new titles and new dominions, gradually acquired additional authority and splendour, the nobility of Germany had gone on at the same time extending their privileges and jurisdiction.

The situation of affairs was favourable to their attempts. The vigour which Charlemagne had given to government quickly relaxed. The incapacity of some of his successors was such as would have encouraged vassals less enterprising than the nobles of that age to have claimed new rights, and to have assumed new powers. The civil wars in which other Emperors were engaged obliged them to pay perpetual court to their subjects, on whose support they depended, and not only to connive at their usurpations, but to permit and even to authorise them. Fiefs gradually became hereditary. They were transmitted not only in the direct but also in the collateral line. The investiture of them was demanded not only by male but by female heirs. Every baron began to exercise sovereign jurisdiction within his own domains; and the dukes and counts of Germany took wide steps towards rendering their territories distinct and independent states. The Saxon Emperors observed their progress, and were aware of its tendency. But as they could not hope to humble vassals already grown too potent, unless they had turned their whole force as well as attention to that enterprise, and as they were extremely intent on their expeditions into Italy, which they could not undertake without the concurrence of their nobles, they were solicitous not to alarm them by any direct attack on their privileges and jurisdictions. They aimed, however, at undermining their power. With this view they inconsiderately bestowed additional territories, and accumulated new honours, on the clergy, in hopes that this order might serve as a counterpoise to that of the nobility in any future struggle. [Discussion follows on the fatal effects of the aggrandisement of the clergy, circa 1024; in the contests between the popes and the Emperors, and their consequences; the degradation of the Emperor Henry IV., and of the imperial dignity thereby; on the rise of the two great factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, owing to the contests between Henry IV. and Gregory VII.; on the gradual decline of the imperial authority, and the Great Interregnum.]

'Rudolph of Hapsburgh, the founder of the House of Austria, and who first opened the way to its future grandeur, was at length elected Emperor, not that he might re-establish and extend the imperial authority, but because his territories and influence were so inconsiderable as to excite no jealousy in the German princes, who were willing to preserve the forms of constitution; the power and vigour they had destroyed. Several of his successors were placed on the imperial throne from the same motive; and almost every remaining prerogative was wrested out of the hands of feeble princes unable to exercise or to defend them.

'During this period of turbulence and confusion, the constitution of the Germanic body underwent a total change. The ancient names of courts and magistrates, together with the original forms and appearance of policy, were preserved; but such new privileges and jurisdiction were assumed, and so many various rights established, that the same species of government no longer subsisted. The princes, the great nobility, the dignified ecclesiastics, the free cities, had taken advantage of the Interregnum which I have mentioned, to establish or to extend their usurpations. They claimed and exercised the right of governing their respective territories with full sovereignty. They acknowledged no superior with respect to any point relative to the interior administration and policy of their domains. They enacted laws, imposed taxes, coined money, declared war, concluded peace, and exerted every prerogative peculiar to independent states. The ideas of order and political union, which had originally formed the various provinces of Germany into one body, were almost entirely lost; and the society must have dissolved, if the forms of feudal subordination had not preserved such an appearance of connection or dependence among the various members of the community as preserved it from falling to pieces.

'This bond of union, however, was extremely feeble; and hardly any principle remained in the German constitution of sufficient force to maintain public order, or even maintain personal security. From the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburgh to the reign of Maximilian, the immediate predecessor of Charles V., the Empire felt every calamity which a state must endure when the authority of government is so much relaxed as to have lost its proper degree of vigour. The causes of dissension among that vast number of members, which composed the Germanic body, were infinite and unavoidable. These gave rise to perpetual private wars, which were carried on with all the violence that usually accompanies resentment when unrestrained by superior authority. Rapine, outrage, exactions, became universal. Commerce was interrupted; industry suspended; and every part of Germany resembled a country which an enemy had plundered and left desolate. The variety of expedients employed with a view to restore order and tranquillity prove that the grievances occasioned by this state of anarchy had grown intolerable. Arbiters were appointed to terminate the differences among the several states. The cities united in a league, the object of which was to check the rapine and extortions of the nobility. The nobility formed confederacies on purpose to maintain tranquillity among their own order. Germany was divided into several Circles, in each of which a provincial and partial jurisdiction was established to supply the place of a public and common tribunal.

'But all these remedies were so ineffectual that they served only to demonstrate the violence of that anarchy which prevailed, and the insufficiency of the means employed to correct it. At length Maximilian re-established public order in the Empire by instituting the Imperial Chamber, a tribunal composed of judges named partly by the Emperor, partly by the several states, and vested with authority to decide finally concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. A few years after, by giving a new form to the Aulic Council, which takes cognizance of all feudal causes,

and such as belong to the Emperor's immediate jurisdiction, he restored some degree of vigour to the imperial authority.

But, notwithstanding the salutary effects of these regulations and improvements, the political constitution of the German Empire at the commencement of the period of the reign of Charles V. was of a species so peculiar as not to resemble perfectly any form of government known either in the ancient or modern world. It was a complex body, formed by the association of several states, each of which possessed a sovereign and independent jurisdiction within its own territories. Of all the members which composed this united body, the Emperor was the head. In his name all decrees and regulations, with respect to points of common concern, were issued; and to him the power of carrying them into execution was committed. But this appearance of monarchical power in the Emperor was more than counterbalanced by the influence of the princes and states of the Empire in every act of administration. No law extending to the whole body could pass, no resolution that affected the general interest could be taken, without the approbation of the diet of the Empire. In this assembly every sovereign prince and state of the Germanic body had a right to be present, to deliberate, and to vote. The decrees or recesses of the diet were the laws of the Empire, which the Emperor was bound to ratify and enforce.

Under this aspect, the constitution of the Empire appears a regular confederacy, similar to the Achaean league in ancient Greece, or to that of the United Provinces and of the Swiss Cantons in modern times. But, if viewed in another light, striking peculiarities in its political state present themselves. The Germanic body was not formed by the union of members altogether distinct and independent. All the princes and states joined in this association were originally subject to the Emperors, and acknowledged them as sovereigns. Besides this, they originally held their lands as imperial fiefs, and in consequence of this tenure owed the Emperor all those services which feudal vassals are bound to perform to their liege lord. But though this political subjection was entirely at an end, and the influence of the feudal relation much diminished, the ancient forms and institutions, introduced while the Emperors governed Germany with authority not inferior to that which the other monarchs of Europe possessed, still remained; thus an opposition was established between the genius of the government and the forms of administration in the German Empire. The former considered the Emperor only as the head of a confederacy, the members of which, by their voluntary choice, have raised him to that dignity; the latter seemed to imply that he is really invested with sovereign power. By this circumstance such principles of hostility and discord were interwoven into the frame of the Germanic body as affected each of its members, rendering their interior union incomplete, and their external efforts feeble and irregular. The pernicious influence of this defect inherent in the constitution of the Empire is so considerable that, without attending to it, we cannot fully comprehend many transactions in the reign of Charles V., or form just ideas concerning the genius of the German government.

The Emperors of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century were distinguished by the most pompous titles, and by such ensigns of dignity as intimated their authority to be superior to that of all other monarchs. The greatest princes of the Empire attended and served them on some occasions as the officers of their household. They exercised prerogatives which no other sovereign ever claimed. They retained pretensions to all the extensive powers which their predecessors had enjoyed in any former age; but, at the same time, instead of possessing that ample domain which had belonged to the ancient Emperors of Germany, and which stretched from Basil to Cologne, along both banks of the Rhine, they were stripped of all territorial property, and had not a single city, a single castle, a single foot

of land that belonged to them as heads of the Empire. As their domain was alienated, their stated revenues were reduced almost to nothing; and the extraordinary aids which on a few occasions they obtained were granted sparingly and paid with reluctance. The princes and states of the Empire, though they seemed to recognise the imperial authority, were subjects only in name, each of them possessing a complete municipal jurisdiction within the precincts of his own territories.

From this ill-compacted frame of government effects that were unavoidable resulted. The Emperors, dazzled with the splendour of their titles and the external signs of vast authority, were apt to imagine themselves to be the real sovereigns of Germany, and were led to aim continually at recovering the exercise of those powers which the forms of the constitution seemed to vest in them, and which their predecessors, Charlemagne and the Otthos, had actually enjoyed. The princes and states, aware of the nature as well as extent of these pretensions, were perpetually on their guard in order to watch all the motions of the imperial court, and to circumscribe its power within limits still more narrow. The Emperors, in support of their claims, appealed to ancient forms and institutions which the states held to be obsolete. The states founded their rights on recent practice and modern privileges, which the Emperors considered as usurpations.

This jealousy of the imperial authority, together with the opposition between it and the rights of the states, increased considerably from the time that the Emperors were elected, not by the collective body of German nobles, but by a few princes of chief dignity. During a long period all the members of the Germanic body had a right to assemble and to make choice of the person whom they appointed to be their head. But amidst the violence and anarchy which prevailed for several centuries in the Empire, seven princes who possessed the most extensive territories, and who had obtained an hereditary title to the great offices of the state, acquired the exclusive privilege of nominating the Emperor. This right was confirmed to them by the Golden Bull; the mode of exercising it was ascertained, and they were dignified with the appellation of *Electors*. The nobility and free cities being thus stripped of a privilege which they had once enjoyed, were less connected with a prince towards whose elevation they had not contributed by their suffrages, and came to be more apprehensive of his authority. The electors, by their extensive power and the distinguished privileges which they possessed, became formidable to the Emperors, with whom they were placed almost on a level in several acts of jurisdiction. Thus the introduction of the electoral college into the Empire, and the authority which it acquired, instead of diminishing, contributed to strengthen the principles of hostility and discord in the Germanic constitution.

These were further augmented by the various and repugnant forms of civil policy in the several states which composed the Germanic body. It is no easy matter to render the union of independent states perfect and entire, even when the genius and forms of their respective governments happen to be altogether similar. But in the German Empire, which was a confederacy of princes, of ecclesiastics, and of free cities, it was impossible that they could incorporate thoroughly. The free cities were small republics, in which the maxims and spirit peculiar to that species of government prevailed. The princes and nobles to whom supreme jurisdiction belonged possessed a sort of monarchical power within their own territories, and the forms of their interior administration nearly resembled those of the great feudal kingdoms. The interests, the ideas, the objects of states so differently constituted cannot be the same. Nor could their common deliberations be carried on with the same spirit while the love of liberty and attention to commerce were the reigning principles in the cities; while the desire of

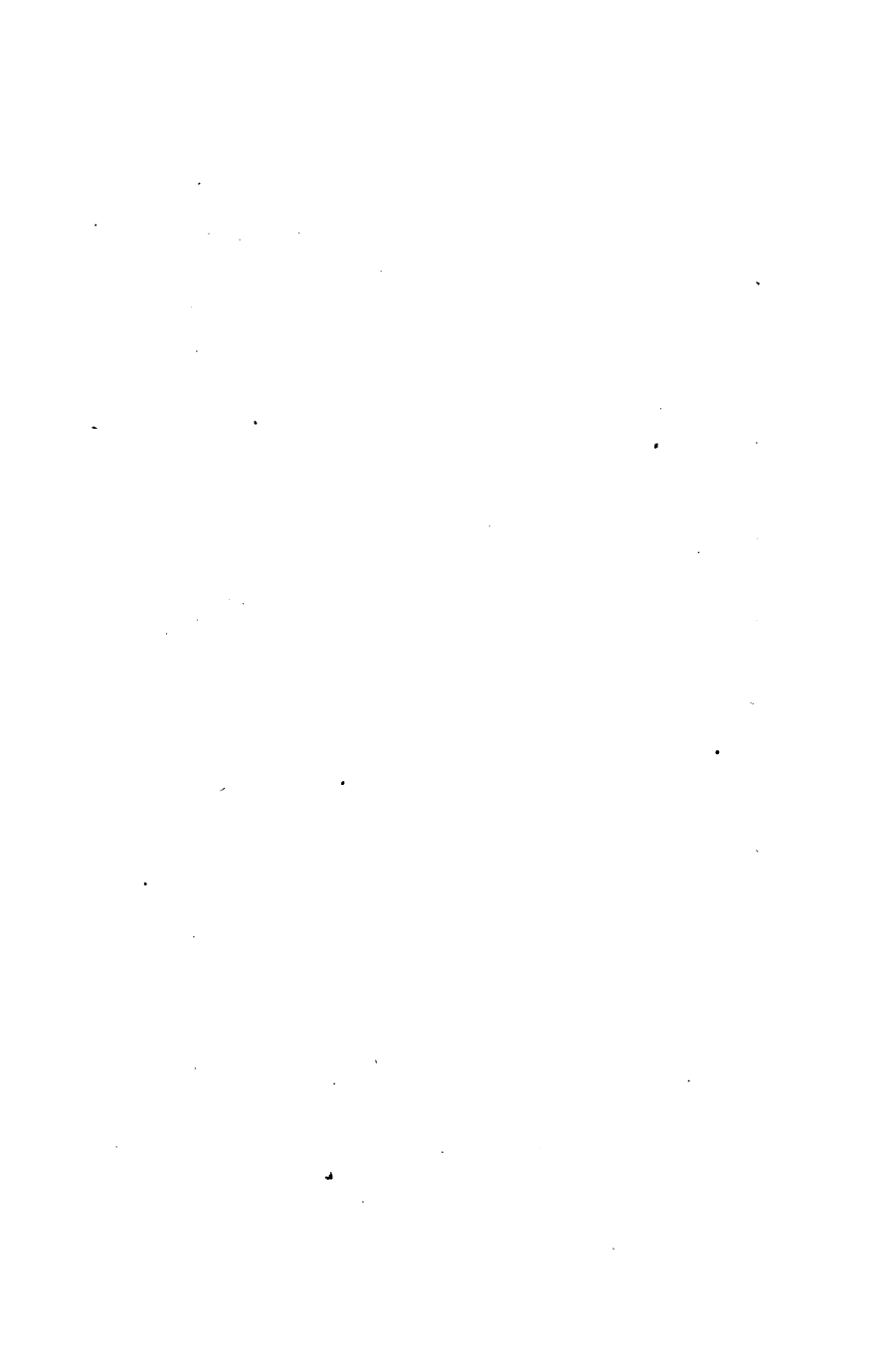
power and ardour for military glory were the governing passions of the princes and nobility.

'The secular and ecclesiastical members of the Empire were as little fitted for union as the free cities and the nobility. Considerable territories had been granted to several of the German bishoprics and abbeys, and some of the highest offices in the Empire having been annexed to them inalienably were held by the ecclesiastics raised to these dignities. The younger sons of noblemen of the second order, who had devoted themselves to the church, were commonly promoted to these stations of eminence and power; and it was no small mortification to the princes and great nobility to see persons raised from an inferior rank to the same level with themselves, or even exalted to superior dignity.

'The education of these churchmen, the genius of their profession, and their connection with the court of Rome, rendered their character as well as their interest different from those of the other members of the Germanic body with whom they were called to act in concert. Thus another source of jealousy and variance was opened, which ought not to be overlooked when we are searching into the nature of the German constitution.

'To all these causes of dissension may be added one more, arising from the unequal distribution of power and wealth among the states of the Empire. The electors and other nobles of the highest rank not only possessed sovereign jurisdiction but governed such extensive, populous, and rich countries as rendered them great princes. Many of the other members, though they enjoyed all the rights of sovereignty, ruled over such petty domains that their real power bore no proportion to this high prerogative. A well compacted and vigorous confederacy could not be formed of such dissimilar states. The weaker were jealous, timid, and unable either to assert or to defend their just privileges: the more powerful were apt to assume and to become oppressive. The electors and Emperors, by turns, endeavoured to extend their own authority by encroaching on those feeble members of the Germanic body, who sometimes defended their rights with much spirit, but more frequently, being overawed or corrupted, they tamely surrendered their privileges or meanly favoured the designs formed against them.

'After contemplating all these principles of disunion and opposition in the constitution of the German Empire, it will be easy to account for the want of concord and uniformity conspicuous in its councils and proceedings. That slow, dilatory, distrustful, and irresolute spirit which characterises all its deliberations will appear natural in a body the junction of whose members was so incomplete, and the different parts of which were held together by such feeble ties and set at variance by such powerful motives. But the Empire of Germany nevertheless comprehended countries of such great extent, and was inhabited by such a martial and hardy race of men, that, when the abilities of an Emperor, or zeal of any common cause, could rouse this unwieldy body to put forth its strength, it acted with almost irresistible force.'



ANALYSIS OF GERMAN HISTORY.

ERRATUM.

Page 121, line 8, *for Murat read Kellermann.*

of learning, and of law. For, in Germany, we revere the prolific mother of nations, the reformer of a corrupted Christianity, and the conservator of the liberties and independence of the European commonwealth. Weakened as she has been in defensive, as well as in aggressive, war, by the division of her territory into so many separate states, yet in that very weakness she has found her strength in the unambitious but beneficent career which, by the prescient will of the Creator himself, she was destined to pursue. The fathers of some of the most aged amongst us witnessed her first assumption of her rank and proper station in the republic of letters; and we ourselves are witnesses how, in that comparatively new region of national prowess, she has exhibited the same indestructible character which, more than a thousand years ago, enabled her to lay in this island the basis of a government, of which (if our posterity be true to their trust) another thousand years will scarcely witness the subversion. That England has her patrimony on the seas, France on the land, and Germany in the clouds, is a sarcasm at which a German may well afford to smile. For reverence in the contemplation of whatever is elevated, and imagination in the embellishment of whatever is beautiful, and tenderness in cherishing whatever is lovely, and patience in the pursuit of the most recondite truths, and courage in the avowal of every deliberate conviction, and charity in tolerating every form of honest dissent,—these are now, as they have ever been, the vital

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ANALYSIS OF GERMAN HISTORY.

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne endlich mir das Land!
So weit die Deutsche Zunge klingt,
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,
Das soll es sein, das soll es sein!
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!—*Arndt.*

'I have already avowed my belief, that to each of the nations of the earth belongs, by a divine decree, a distinctive character adapted to the peculiar office assigned to each, in the great and comprehensive system of human affairs. Thus to France was appointed, by the Supreme Ruler of mankind, the duty of civilising and humanising the European world. To England it has been given to guide all other states to excellence in the practical arts of life, to commercial wealth, to political wisdom, and to spiritual liberty. But to Germany was delegated the highest and the noblest trust which has been committed to any people since the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans fulfilled their respective commissions of imparting to our race the blessings of religion, of learning, and of law. For, in Germany, we revere the prolific mother of nations, the reformer of a corrupted Christianity, and the conservator of the liberties and independence of the European commonwealth. Weakened as she has been in defensive, as well as in aggressive, war, by the division of her territory into so many separate states, yet in that very weakness she has found her strength in the unambitious but beneficent career which, by the prescient will of the Creator himself, she was destined to pursue. The fathers of some of the most aged amongst us witnessed her assumption of her rank and proper station in the republic of letters; and we ourselves are witnesses how, in that comparatively new region of mental prowess, she has exhibited the same indestructible character which, more than a thousand years ago, enabled her to lay in this island the basis of government, of which (if our posterity be true to their trust) another thousand years will scarcely witness the subversion. That England has her dominion on the seas, France on the land, and Germany in the clouds, is a fact at which a German may well afford to smile. For reverence in the contemplation of whatever is elevated, and imagination in the embellishment of whatever is beautiful, and tenderness in cherishing whatever is holy, and patience in the pursuit of the most recondite truths, and courage in the avowal of every deliberate conviction, and charity in tolerating every honest dissent,—these are now, as they have ever been, the vital

elements of the Teutonic mind. They may, indeed, not seldom have given birth to an unmeaning mysticism, to visionary hopes, and to dangerous errors. Yet, from their remotest ancestry, the Germans have received these gifts as their best and most enduring inheritance; and, by the exercise and the influence of them, they impressed upon our own ancestral constitution much of that peculiar character which it retains to the present hour.'—*J. S. Lect.*

THE NAME OF GERMANY.

'The name of *Germani* was first applied by Cæsar to the whole nation east of the Rhine, though it properly belonged only to those tribes which he conquered in Gaul. Tacitus states (*Germ. c. ii.*) that the first tribe which crossed the Rhine were the Tungri, who were afterwards called *Germani*, which is supposed to be the same as *Wehrmann*—that is, "man of war."* It is doubtful whether the Germans themselves employed any one name to designate the whole nation. Tacitus (*Germ. c. ii.*) divides them into three tribes; Pliny (*Nat. Hist. iv. 14*), into eighteen; while later researches have still further increased the number.†

'The origin of the Germanic nations, like that of all others, is uncertain. Some authors, taking as their guides the affinity of languages, have traced their descent from the inhabitants of Asia; and Von Hammer calls them a Bactriano-Median nation. It is now indisputably established that the Teutonic dialects belong to one great family with the Latin, the Greek, the Sanscrit, and other European and Asiatic tongues. All the positive knowledge, however, that we have of the German nations previous to their contact with the Romans is exceedingly vague, and mere conjecture.'—*K. N. C.*

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.

'The German language is divided into two great branches, which are subdivided into several dialects—the High German, or language of Southern Germany; and the Low German, or language of Northern Germany. The High German was formerly divided into two dialects, the Francic and the Allemannic. The Francic was the idiom of the Franks and of the French court till the reign of Charles the Bald, when it was replaced by the French. The principal monuments of this dialect are the fragments of a treatise of Isidore, *De Nativitate Christi*, which date from the beginning of the eighth century, and a few other fragments. The Allemannic dialect prevailed in the south-western part of Germany, including a great part of Switzerland. Its existing monuments are two or three translations and paraphrases. Both the above-mentioned dialects seem to have disappeared

* Or rather, *man of defence*; referring particularly to those left in the country to defend it, when the younger active warriors had gone abroad. On the meaning and derivation of the present name of Germany, *Deutschland*, see Appendix.

† 'The original seat was probably east of the Caspian. They were distinguished by huge stature, blue eyes, and fair complexion. Their religion was a deification of the powers of nature; it still subsists in the Icelandic Eddas.'—*J. G. L.*

in the middle ages, and to have been replaced by the Suabian dialect, which became the language of the court under the Hohenstauffen dynasty, and in which the Minnesingers composed their poems.

* The modern German, also called High German (Hoch. Deutsch), may be considered as chiefly derived from the old High German, or southern dialects. Its universal usage as the literary language of all Germany dates from Luther's translation of the Bible, by which circumstance it acquired its superiority. The Low German, or Saxon, may be divided into the Old Saxon, the Low German of the middle ages, and the modern Low German. The first of these three prevailed from the eighth to the eleventh centuries; the second, from the eleventh to the sixteenth; while the third is the spoken (but not the written) language over great part of the north of Germany, and is itself subdivided into many dialects. The chief literary work in the Old Saxon is the *Evangetien Harmonie*; and in the Low German of the middle ages, *Reineke Fuchs*. The Frisian language is also a branch of the German.—*Knight's N. C.*

FIRST GREAT MIGRATION OF THE GERMAN NATIONS (the Cimbri and Teutones), in number perhaps 500,000 warriors, circ. 120 B.C.

They march into Gaul, and are joined by Celtic and Helvetic tribes; defeat the Roman consular armies of Silanus, Longinus, Scaurus, Mallius, and Cæpio, B.C. 109-105; but are almost totally destroyed by Marius and Catulus at Aquæ Sextiæ, B.C. 102, and at Verona, B.C. 101.*

Inroad of the Germani, in conjunction with the Helvetii, into Gaul, under Ariovistus. They are defeated and destroyed by Julius Cæsar, B.C. 58. Cæsar crosses the Rhine, probably near Neuwied; but effects no permanent conquests on the right bank of that river.

Campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus against the Rhæti and Vindelici, who are reduced to submission, B.C. 15.

Tiberius conducts the war in Germany, A.D. 4.

* The Roman eagles were now permanently planted upon the shores of the Rhine and the Danube. The Teutonic tribes were either swallowed up in the multitude of the Roman colonists which followed close upon the track of conquest, or driven back upon their ancient seats, and thrust as unwelcome guests upon their kinsmen in the heart of Germany. . . . For the first time, perhaps, since the creation of man, the current of migration was dammed up, and forbidden to flow for nearly three centuries.—*Mer.*

VARUS AND HIS ARMY OF THREE LEGIONS

* Read *Analysis of the History of Rome*, by Turner, pp. 63, 64, and see brief sketch in Appendix to this work.

CUT OFF BY ARMINIUS (or Herman), A.D. 9. Great importance of this defeat.*

'Rome completely Latinised the Celt, assimilated him, made him her own. The Teuton was, morally speaking, of far less malleable materials, and was never assimilated to his foe. The relations of Rome with Germany were always those of war—generally war to the knife. Caesar found in Ariovistus a spirit as haughty as his own, and soldiers as brave as the legionaries, prepared to contest the dominion of Gaul. His star did not desert him; he had his usual fortune in the conflict, and gained a victory. But so far as Germany itself was concerned, the victory was a barren one. His laborious and skilful passage of the Rhine, undertaken with the object of spreading the terrors of the Roman name through all the central tribes of Germany, did not for a moment dismay those resolute savages, who boasted that they could uphold the heavens upon their lances, and had not slept beneath a roof for years. They renewed the struggle, and continued it until they stood as conquerors upon the Capitol. The darkest disaster in the Roman story—a disaster which destroyed the prestige of her hitherto invincible arms, broke the heart of the successful master of the world, and inspired the Roman mind with an alarm never afterwards wholly calmed—was wrought by the sword of Arminius upon the helpless legions of Varus, in the dark recesses of the Teutoburger Wald.

'It was something more than the loss of a certain number of men—good and tried soldiers though they were—which weighed upon the mind of Augustus on his deathbed. It was a foreboding of what was to come; a sort of prophetic sentiment, which dimly saw, in these untamed sons of the forest, the inheritors of all his labours and of all the long glories of the Roman name.'—*J. G. S. Lect.*

Expedition of Drusus (A.D. 14–16), and conquest of the Cherusci and other tribes. He reaches the Elbe. Foundation of colonies on the Rhine. Drusus receives the surname of 'Germanicus.'

'These nations (the northern tribes) were but too well known to the Roman people. They had destroyed five consular armies, encountered Marius, contended with Julius Caesar, annihilated Varus and his three legions, and given the title of Germanicus to the first Roman of his age.'—*S. Lect. on H.*

Long and vigorous resistance of the Germans to the Roman arms. The Romans, however, maintain their power on the right bank of the Rhine, and from the Maine to the Danube.

'What lay outside the Roman empire, its provinces, dependencies, and allied states? The answer is, "The barbarian world." The words, I am sure, convey to many of us an exceedingly indistinct image, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, a number of images, forming a complex whole, whose limits and characteristic marks are so indefinite that it

* This battle is reckoned by Creasy as one of the decisive battles of the world. See Prof. Creasy's well-known work.

becomes impossible to combine them into a single, well-composed, and intelligible picture. The Celt, the Teuton, the Goth, and the Hun; the Vandal, the Avar, the Slave, and the Bulgarian; the Frank, the Burgundian, and the Saxon; German warriors, Scandinavian pirates, and the wild nomad races of Central Asia, pass before the mind's eye like the fantastic figures in a magic lantern, which confuse the sight when present, and are undistinguishable in the memory when past.—G.

SEVEN GREAT MIGRATIONS OF THE GERMANIC NATIONS TOWARDS THE SOUTH.

The 1st about B.C. 113–101. The 2nd about A.D. 120. The Goths, Vandals, Alemanni, Quadi, Burgundians, &c. The 3rd about A.D. 390. The 4th about A.D. 400. The 5th about A.D. 440. The 6th about A.D. 490. The 7th about A.D. 550.

‘The German tribes may with great justice be compared to a swarm of bees. The mere love of fighting occasioned continual wars between them, either on the pretext of defending their frontiers from the aggressions of their neighbours, or for the purpose of extending them; and they had the custom of sending the young men, whenever the population became too numerous for the soil, annually forth to seek an existence in foreign lands, so that the surplus of their warlike population was unceasingly pouring across the frontiers. The earliest and most numerous migratory hordes, travelling from north to south, were apparently also German adventurers, such as the Cimmerii, Boii, and Senones; and in later times, the Cimbri and Teutones; the Suevi, under Ariovistus; the Marcomanni, Quadi, Getæ, and Bastarnæ. The opposition they met with from the Romans appears to have turned them eastward; a circumstance which perhaps reveals the origin of the immense empire founded by the Goth, Hermanarich, between the Baltic and the Black Sea. These fierce nations again poured with irresistible fury from the north to the south and west; opposition proved unavailing, and Goths, Alani, Vandals, Burgundians, Longobardi, Alemanni, Franks, Angli, and Saxons, spread like a torrent over the whole Roman empire. It was some time after this migration of these enormous multitudes before a large mass could again collect for a similar purpose in Germany, where they began to congregate into cities; when the surplus population again took possession of the Slavonian countries, which were conquered in the times of the crusades, and colonized the shores of the Baltic. Since that period the destructive religious wars prevented a too great increase of population, and filled Holland and the distant colonies with thousands, who fled thither from persecution at home; and within the last century several hundred thousands of German adventurers have gradually settled in America, on the Volga, and in other parts of the world.’—M.

Invasions of the Northmen in Germany towards the latter part of this period.* **Introduction of Christianity into Germany.**† Gallant resistance of the Saxons against

* See the beautiful description in Milman's *Lat. Christ.* vol. ii. bk. v. ch. ix. p. 431.

† ‘The Gospel was introduced into Germany about 727. Winifred, an

Charlemagne; headed by Witikind, a second Arminius.*

Empire of Charlemagne,† A.D. 800, from the Tiber and the Ebro to the Elbe and the Eyder; including all France, Germany, part of Pannonia, part of Italy, and some of the islands of the Mediterranean.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF GERMANY, FRANCE, AND ITALY AS SEPARATE STATES, at the partition of the Carolingian Empire at Verdun, A.D. 843.‡

The Empire is broken up into an immense number of petty states, and the Germans at this time divided into five separate nations, each under its own duke; viz. the Franks, Suabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and the Lorrainers.

'Out of respect to Charlemagne's memory, Charles the Simple and his descendants to the third generation were permitted to hold the crown of France; but it was a crown without either power or splendour. Italy, with the imperial dignity; Germany, with the neighbouring provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, Dauphiné, and Provence, were separated from the French monarchy. The last Carolingian princes, reduced to the city of Laon, beheld the misery of their country, and the wars among their great vassals.'—G. (G. M. W. p. 600.)

Election of Conrad, § Duke of Franconia, A.D. 911.

From this time Germany becomes an **Electorate Empire** [**Wahlreich**].

'At length the German branch of the family of Charlemagne became extinct, and his feeble descendants, who reigned in France, had sunk into such contempt, that the Germans, without looking to them, exercised the right inherent in a free people; and, in the general assembly of the nation, elected Conrad, Count of Franconia, emperor.'—P. R.

'The Germans, freed from the French yoke, elected for their king Conrad, Duke of Franconia, and after him a line of Saxon princes.'—G.

Election of Henry I., the Fowler; of THE SAXON

Englishman, afterwards called Boniface, made Bishop and Legate by Pope Gregory II., was the *Apostle of Germany*. Charles Martel conquered the rude tribes at the same time. The sword and the Gospel went together in Germany. Abbey of Fulda founded by Stürmi, 747. Monks the civilisers of Germany. Monasteries the asylums of peace in that troubled period.'—J. G. L.

* Read Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. ii. bk. v. ch. i. p. 280 *seqq.*

† See Turner's *Analysis of English and French History*, p. 88, for a sketch of the Empire of Charlemagne, and the reference there given.

‡ See Appendix.

§ See extract in the Appendix, as also upon Henry I. and Otho the Great.

RACE; A.D. 919. *The Saxon line of Emperors lasted about 100 years.*

'Henry the Fowler chastised the Hungarians, civilised his rude subjects, and was the first founder of cities in the interior parts of Germany.'—*G.*

'After Conrad, Henry of Saxony, and his descendants, the three Othos, were placed in succession on the imperial throne by the suffrages of their countrymen. The extensive territories of the Saxon emperors, their eminent abilities and enterprising genius, not only added new vigour to the imperial dignity, but raised it to higher power and pre-eminence.'—*P. R.*

'Henry laid the foundations of a firm monarchy, driving back the Magyars and Wends, recovering Lotharingia, and founding towns to be centres of orderly life, and strongholds against Hungarian irruptions.'—*Br.*

OTHO THE GREAT, EMPEROR, A.D. 936, son of Henry I. 'The **Holy Roman Empire** is the creation of Otho the Great.'—*B.*

'Otho the Great passed the Alps, gave laws to Italy and the Popes, and for ever fixed the **Imperial dignity** in the German nation. He imposed a tribute on the vanquished Danes and Bohemians, and since that time the King of Bohemia has acknowledged himself the first vassal of the German Empire, which was treated with contempt by the Greeks, reluctantly submitted to by the Italians, but respected by the rest of Europe. The second and third Otho, son and grandson to the first, supported, though with less vigour and capacity, the claims which he transmitted to them.'—*G.*

Wars of Otho in Italy. Victories over the Huns, the Slaves, and the Hungarians. 'The Tentonic host, after the great deliverance of the Lechfeld, greeted Otho, conqueror of the Magyars, as "Imperator Augustus, Pater Patrie."—*B.*

Great power of the Emperor Otho; he adds the kingdom of Italy to the German Empire; **disposes of the Papacy at his sovereign pleasure**; and is the first German sovereign that is crowned **King of Italy** (at Pavia), and afterwards **Emperor** at Rome; with the title of **CÆSAR AUGUSTUS**.

Otho conquers Apulia and Calabria, and defeats the Saracens in Italy.

EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.
The Franconian line also lasted about 100 years.

Conrad II. the Salic, 1024 A.D. annexes Burgundy to the Empire. He is succeeded by Henry III., 1039, one of the most powerful of the German Emperors, and **Henry IV.,**

1050; both of whom claim *the right of investitures* and even of nominating the Pope.*

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. AND THE HOLY SEE, Gregory VII.† (Hildebrand), during which the Emperor alternately triumphs, is excommunicated, goes to Rome and does penance, takes up arms again, makes an expedition into Italy, takes Rome, sets up an Anti-Pope (Guibert), but is finally compelled to abdicate, owing to the rebellion of his sons Conrad and Henry (afterwards Henry V., who even imprisons his father).

* The Franconian princes, Conrad the Salic, Henry III., and Henry IV., succeeded to the house of Saxony. These emperors possessed as much power as was compatible with the feudal system. Their great vassals were more accustomed to order and obedience than those of France. They enjoyed a large domain and revenue in Germany. Italy, once the mistress, and since the slave of the nations, was treated as a conquered country. The right of granting the investiture of benefices, and even of the see of Rome, became in their hands an inexhaustible source either of power or of profit. Gregory VII., a monk of daring and obstinate spirit, embraced the pretence of abolishing simony, and the opportunity of delivering himself and his successors from an odious yoke. The Emperor was excommunicated and deposed; and these spiritual arms were seconded, either from interested or pious motives, by the Normans, by the Countess Matilda, and even by the sons of Henry. Though he defended himself with vigour, and was victorious in sixty-six battles, the Church still maintained the war with new resources and inflexible resolution, and the Roman pontiff erected his mitre above all the crowns in Europe.—G.

* 'It appears certain that while Rome was regarded as a dependency of the Eastern Empire, the Popes, though still elected by the clergy, senate, and people, could not be consecrated to the papal chair until the election had been sanctioned by the Emperor at Constantinople. When they became independent of Greece, though acknowledged as heads of the church universal, they were still not consecrated without the approbation of the Western Emperors. Hence arose the claim of the Emperors to nominate, or at least to ratify the election of, the Popes—a power which the Popes, so soon as they could do without their protection, declared unholy and degrading. The Popes, on the other hand, asserted the necessity of their crowning the Emperors before they could be lawfully acknowledged as such; and laboured to prove that the right of disposing of the Empire was involved in this prerogative, and that Germany was once a fief of the Holy See. Thus the Emperors insisted that no papal election could be valid without their sanction as lords paramount over Italy; while the Popes contended that instead of being vassals they were the superiors of the Empire. The quarrel lasts till the Diet of Worms, 1122, and occasions much civil war and bloodshed.'—O. C. T.

† Read on Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) the beautiful essay 'Hildebrand' in Sir James Stephen's *Essays republished from the Edinb. Rev.*, vol. i., from which an extract is given in the Appendix.

Long wars of Henry IV. against the Saxons; against his great vassals, and Rudolf, the pretender to the Empire, supported by the Pope; and against Henry IV.'s own rebellious sons.

Imprisonment, abdication, and escape of Henry IV., who dies * while raising a fresh army against his rebellious sons, 1106. 'The Popes prevailed against their ancient sovereigns, the Emperors of Germany, and deprived the unfortunate Henry IV. of his dominions, his reputation, his life, and the last honours of a grave.'—*G. M. W.*

Increase during this period of the wealth and power of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and other cities, which, by assisting the Crusaders in their operations, continued to secure for themselves important privileges and establishments in the Levant. *The First Crusade, 1095-1099.*†

HENRY V. (son of Henry IV.), 1106. King of Italy as well as Emperor of Germany. 'A bad son, but a great emperor, whom misfortune might destroy, but could not bend.'—*M.*

Renewal of the quarrel between the Emperor and the Papacy respecting the right of investitures. The Emperor enters Italy and takes Rome, A.D. 1111, making the Pope (Pascal II.) prisoner, and compelling him to crown him and give up the right of investiture. After a further struggle of nearly ten years, during which the Emperor is excommunicated, again returns to Italy, takes Rome again, and is recrowned there and is again excommunicated; the quarrel is ended, and the dispute settled at the Diet of Worms, 1122, in which Henry virtually 'resigned the long-contested right of investitures; which was gradually usurped by the Roman pontiff; and the clergy, instead of regaining their liberty, soon experienced a yoke still heavier when imposed by one of their own order.'—*G. M. W.*

This long and obstinate quarrel gave rise shortly after to the factions of the *Guelphs and Ghibellines*. 'During the eleven reigns, from Conrad II. to Lothaire II., the Emperors of Germany assumed the title of Roman Emperor, the feudal system became organised, the great

* On the character and achievements of this truly wonderful Emperor, read the article 'Hildebrand,' above referred to.

† In this a large body of German nobles and soldiers took part; but no German Emperor joined it in person.

10 THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN—THE CRUSADES.

vassals of the Empire became entirely independent, and the contest between the Popes and the Emperors commenced.'—*K. N. C.*

Marriage of the Emperor Henry V. with Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England: he dies childless.*

LOTHAIRE, Duke of Saxony, is elected Emperor, 1125; and succeeded by

Conrad III., 1138. First of the House of Suabia

OR **Hohenstaufen.**† 'Handsome in his person, and replete with life and vigour, of undaunted and well-tryed valour, Conrad stood superior to all the princes of his time, and seemed by nature fitted for command.'—*M.* 'A jealous truce subsisted between the Church and the Empire during the reigns of Lothaire II. and Conrad III.'—*G.* Conrad's election is disputed by Henry the Haughty, Duke of Bavaria, whose family name was Guelph. The Imperial army is commanded by Frederic, Duke of Suabia, the Emperor's brother, who was born at Wibelung in Franconia: hence his adherents called Ghibellines. **Origin of the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines.** 'The great struggle between Church and State, the Pope and the Emperor, had now commenced, and centuries were to pass away before its termination. On the one side stood the Pope, supported by France and an un-German faction in Germany, hitherto the Saxon one, but, since Saxony had fallen to the Bavarian Welf, called the faction of Welfs, or, as in Italy named, the Guelphs. On the other side stood the Emperor, in defence of the prerogatives of the State against the Church, and of the interest and honour of the German nation against the Italians and French. After the extinction of the Salic dynasty, the Staufen, mounting the throne, and naming their race after the Allod of Waiblingen in the Reinsthal, the name of the Waiblinger, or, in Italian, Ghibelines, was gradually fixed upon the Imperial faction.'—*M.* Read also Arnold's *Lect. on Hist.* lect. v. p. 194.‡ After the death of Henry the Haughty the war is still carried on by other members of his family.

Romantic story of the Duchess of Guelph and her ladies at Weinsberg.

The Emperor joins Louis VII. of France in the Second

* Matilda, after his death, married Geoffry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and had a son, Henry II. of England.

† So called from their hereditary family seat, the castle of Staufen, at the outlet of the Suabian Alps.

‡ An extract of this is given in the Appendix. The German scholar will find the *History of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty*, by Fred. Baumur, replete with interest.

Crusade, 1147-1149. 'In the twelfth century, three great emigrations marched by land from the West to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany were excited by the example and success of the First Crusade. Forty-eight years after the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre, the Emperor and the French King, Conrad III. and Louis VII., undertook the Second Crusade, to support the falling fortunes of the Latins. * * *

'The armies of the Second Crusade might have claimed the conquest of Asia; the nobles of France and Germany were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; and both the rank and personal characters of Conrad and Louis gave a dignity to their cause, and a discipline to their force, which might be vainly expected from the feudatory chiefs. The cavalry of the Emperor, and that of the King, was each composed of seventy thousand knights and their immediate attendants in the field; and if the light-armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with four hundred thousand souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the Kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins that in the passage of a strait or river the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thousand, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.'—G. The Emperor's

army marches by land to Constantinople, crosses the Bosphorus, and, after having suffered frightfully from the treachery of the Greeks and their Emperor Manuel, is defeated and destroyed by the Sultan of Iconium, 1146. The army of Louis VII. is destroyed the year after, 1147, at Laodicea.

The commercial union called the Hanseatic League begins to be formed by a number of port towns against the piracies of the Swedes and Danes, 1164.

Disastrous failure of the Crusade, and return of Conrad, after having lost his army. 'Though the sermons of St. Bernard excited a second crusade more formidable than the first, the far greater part of the numerous armies which followed the Emperor Conrad and Louis VII. perished by the artifices of the Greeks and the arms of the Turks, and these monarchs appeared in the Holy Land rather as pilgrims than as conquerors.'—G. M. W.

Conrad III.* adopts and is succeeded by his nephew,

Frederic I. Barbarossa, who is elected Emperor and King at a diet held at Frankfurt, 1152. 'Firm and persevering, a deep politician, and a wise statesman. To guarantee the internal unity and the external security of the state, was his preponderating idea; and, regardless of the animosity with which the German princes

* It is worthy of remark that Conrad III. was the first Emperor that adopted the double-headed eagle (*der Doppel-Adler*) as the armorial bearing of the Empire.—W.

12 THE HOUSE OF HOHENSTAUFEN—THE CRUSADES.

secretly sought to undermine the imperial authority, he directed his principal forces against his most dangerous enemy, the Pope, and rightly concluded that he could alone overcome him in Italy. Those who charge him with neglect of the affairs of Germany, forget the times in which he lived. The peaceful government of Germany was alone to be secured by the imposition of shackles on the Pope.'—*M.*

Frederic's expedition into Italy; war with the Milanese; he is crowned at Rome, after doing homage to the Pope, Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman that ever was Pope); 1156.

Power of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, in the North of Germany.

Fresh wars of Frederic in Italy against the *Italian cities, which form a League* (1167) *to maintain their liberties*, from 1158–1183. He makes in all four great expeditions, during which he takes Milan, Rome, and many other cities; **The power of the Holy Roman Empire at its greatest height;*** but is forced at last, after the defeat of Legnano, and the destruction of his fleet and capture of his son Otho by the Venetians off Priano, to make a truce for six years, and finally to agree to the articles of **The Peace of Constance**,† 1183, which establishes the independence of the Italian Republics.

Visit of Frederic in person to Venice, to ratify the truce, after the defeat of his fleet, 1177. Submission to and reconciliation with the Pope, Alexander III., who removes the ban of excommunication and sets his foot on the prostrate Emperor's neck in the portico of St. Mark: '*et mihi et Petro.*'‡

Frederic joins **the Third Crusade**, with Richard I. and Philip Augustus, 1189. Marches across Hungary and Roumelia to Constantinople. 'Fifteen thousand knights, and as many squires, the flower of German chivalry, sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, were mustered by the Emperor, in the plains of Hungary.'—*G.* Marches by Philadelphia and Laodicea to Iconium, constantly defeating the Turks; wins the battle

* Read the very interesting extract from Bryce, p. 81, given in the Appendix, on the extent, &c. &c., of the Empire at this period.

† Some authorities have it that this Peace was signed at Kostnitz.

‡ Read ch. i. p. 70 *seqq.* of that very pretty book, *Sketches of Venetian History*, 2 vols., published in the *Family Library*.

of Iconium; but is drowned while crossing the Calicadnus (the *Seleph* *) in Cilicia, 1190. 'Perhaps the Turks had still more to fear from the veteran genius of Frederic I., who in his youth had served in Asia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught Barbarossa to command; and his soldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accustomed under his reign to obey. As soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation. During twenty days, every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turkmans, whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The Emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital of the Sultan, who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia. The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the Emperor's son soon expired with the greatest part of his Suabian vassals at the siege of Acre. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa alone could achieve the passage of the Lesser Asia; yet even their success was a warning; and in the last and most experienced age of Crusades, every nation preferred the sea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition.'—*G.*

His body is recovered from the river, and buried in the church of St. Peter's at Antioch; a miserable remnant of his mighty army, some 5,000 or 6,000 men only, return from the Crusade. 'Philip Augustus and Richard I., who preferred the safer but more expensive method of transporting their troops by sea, took the inconsiderable town of St. John d' Acre, after a siege of two years. This Third Crusade was followed by the death of Saladin, who left a name admired in Asia, dreaded and esteemed in Europe.'—*G. M. W.*

Legends speak of this Emperor, as after his death still alive, destined to appear again as a future deliverer of the German Empire, like Arthur in British story.

Origin, during the Third Crusade, of the Order of *Teutonic Knights*.† Gradual increase of the power and wealth of the greater towns in Germany, 'which become legal corporations and purchase immunities more or less considerable. Even the peasant began to be distinguished from the rest of the cattle on his lord's estate.'

Henry VI., surnamed *Asper* or *the Sharp*, son of Fre-

* Besides the extract from Gibbon, vol. x. ch. lix. given in the text, read Menzel, vol. i. ch. clii. p. 482.

† Read Menzel, vol. i. ch. cliii. p. 489; and Milman's *Lat. Christ* bk. xli. ch. v. p. 402 *segg.* See also 'Teutonic Order,' in the Appendix.

deric Barbarossa, EMPEROR AND KING OF ITALY, 1190.

'Henry inherited his father's energy, but was devoid of his nobler qualities. He made use of ignoble means for the attainment of his purposes, was cold-blooded and cruel. True to his father's principles, he sought to lower the authority of the Pope in Italy itself.'—*M.*

Richard I. *Cœur de Lion* seized on his return from Palestine, 1191, by Leopold, Duke of Austria, 'the cowardly captor of an unarmed foe,' and imprisoned in the castle of Durenstein on the Danube. He is brought by the Emperor before a diet at Worms, and accused of the murder of Conrad of Montserrat, and of withholding their share of the booty taken at Acre from the Germans; ransomed, and returns to England, 1194.*

The Emperor claims the throne of Sicily and Naples; makes an expedition into Italy; takes possession of the South of Italy; receives the surrender of Naples; conquers Sicily; exercises frightful cruelties on the partisans of the ancient Norman dynasty; is excommunicated by the Pope, Celestine III.; a measure the Emperor treats with contempt. Henry meditates the conquest of Greece, and of the whole Christian East and Constantinople. Crusade for this object sent out by the Emperor, under the Chancellor Conrad, the Dukes of Austria, Carinthia, Thuringia, and other nobles; Cyprus, Crete, and the cities of Sidon, Berytus, and Thoron taken.

Sudden death of the Emperor at Messina, in the prime of life, possibly from poison, 1197.

During the same year INNOCENT III. SUCCEEDS TO THE PAPACY, WHICH HE RAISES TO ITS GREATEST HEIGHT. 'Rome once more mistress of the world, and its kings her vassals.'†

* After agreeing, it is said, to hold the crown of England as a fief of the Holy Roman Empire.

† Read Menzel, vol. i. p. 499: 'Innocent III., by his mastery,' &c. &c.

THE SUCCESSION TO THE EMPIRE IS DIS-
PUTED BY

Philip, Duke of Suabia, brother to the late Em- peror, and Otho (IV.), Duke of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion.	}	1198.
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Philip, elected Emperor at Mühlhausen, is supported by the bishops of Northern Germany, and by the faction of the Ghibellines.

Otho, elected Emperor at Cologne, is supported by the Pope and faction of the Guelphs.

'Otho recognises the Pope as his liege, and takes an oath of unconditional obedience to him, the Pope declaring at the same time to the princes of Germany that the election depended on him alone, kings reigning over separate countries, the Pope over the universe.'—*M.*

Philip and his partisans excommunicated by the Pope. Feud and war between the rival Emperors till 1208. Ottocar, of Bohemia, a monster of cruelty, supports Philip first, and then Otho. Otho's partisans defeated; his cause becomes hopeless; but Philip is assassinated in a private quarrel, and

OTHO IV. (Duke of Saxony) BECOMES SOLE EMPEROR, 1208. He first submits to, and afterwards quarrels with, the Pope, 'revoking the concession he had made to the Pope of the lands of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany ('the great Countess'), the right of investiture, and of induction of bishops; and violating his oath of unconditional obedience.'

The Pope (Innocent III.) excommunicates Otho, 1211, and favours the invitation sent by the partisans of the House of Hohenstaufen to Frederic of Palermo, the young King of Sicily (son of Henry VI.), to become Emperor.

During this period, the **Fourth Crusade** is undertaken by the Germans, French, and Venetians. The crusaders of the two latter nations go no further than Constantinople, which they take twice, 1203 and 1204, under Baldwin, Count of Flanders, the Marquis of Montserrat, and the Doge Dan-

dolo. The German crusaders go separately, influenced by the dread of excommunication, to Acre, under the Abbot Martin, of Alsace; but effect nothing.

Frederic quits Sicily; crosses the Alps in the disguise of a pilgrim; is joyfully received, while Otho retreats from place to place. Frederic holds his first diet at Frankfort, as

Frederic II. (son of Henry VI., of the line of Hohenstaufen), 1213. 'The grandchild of the great Barbarossa was everywhere received with a delight to which his wisdom, extraordinary for his years, and the nobility of his address, contributed as much as his personal beauty.'—*M.* 'Frederic II., the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim of the Church.'—*G.*

About this period, 1213, the marvellous madness of the **Children's Crusade**.*

The Emperor, Otho IV., continues to maintain his authority in the North of Germany; allies himself with King John of England against Philip Augustus of France; fights, loses, and is wounded in, the battle of Bovines; retires to Brunswick, where he continues to defend himself till his death in 1218.

Frederic II. is solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. 1215. 'The imperial regalia were delivered by Henry, son of Otho, to Frederic, to whom also France courteously restored the banner of the empire, the *carroccio*, "*aquilam super currum sublimem compositam*," which had been taken at Bovines.'—*M.* Death of the Pope, Innocent III., next year; succeeded by Honorius III., 1216.

Perpetual struggle of the Emperor in Italy against the Papal See and the Italian cities;

* See Menzel, vol. i. ch. clv. p. 505. It is quaintly described in Fuller's *Hist. of the Holy War*, ch. xxiv.:—'In the beginning of this reign, an accident (whether monstrous or miraculous) fell out in France. A boy (for his years) went about singing in his tongue,

"Jesus, Lord, repair our loss;

Restore to us thy holy cross."

Numberless children ran after him, and followed the same tune their captain and chanter did set them. No bolts, no bars, no fear of fathers or love of mothers, could hold them back, but they would to the Holy Land to work wonders there: till their merry music had a sad close, all either perishing on land or drowned by sea. It was done, saith my author, Matthew Paris, by the instigot of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordial of children's blood to comfort his weak stomach, long cloyed with murdering of men.

and continual war between the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy. The Emperor is twice excommunicated, 1227 and 1238. 'The superior abilities of Frederic II., his Italian education, the imperial sceptre, the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and the vast possessions of the House of Suabia, rendered him formidable to the Popes, who, unmindful of their accustomed policy, had rather assisted than checked his elevation. This fatal error could only be retrieved by the destruction of the House of Suabia, and the design was prosecuted during more than forty years with a constancy worthy of the ancient senate. The Roman pontiffs seized the first ground of dispute, rejected all terms of peace, and convinced both their friends and their enemies that they were resolved either to perish or to conquer. The parties of the Church and of the Empire, under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellines, divided and desolated Italy. Amidst this confusion, Innocent IV. solemnly deposed Frederic in the Council of Lyons, and pursued that unfortunate monarch to the grave.'—*G. M. W.*

Peace between the Emperor and the Lombard cities; great power of Venice after the conquest of Constantinople; war between Venice and Genoa.* After many delays and great preparations, Frederic II. heads, though under the ban of excommunication, the **Sixth Crusade**, 1228, and obtains the surrender of Jerusalem.

* At length the Emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and army of 40,000 men; but he kept the sea no more than three days; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow was Frederic excommunicated by Gregory IX.; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same Pope. While he served under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands; and in his own kingdom the Emperor was forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the Christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph; and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the Holy Sepulchre. But the patriarch cast an interdict on the church which his presence had profaned; and the knights of the hospital and temple informed the Sultan how easily he might be surprised and slain in his unguarded visit to the river Jordan. In such a state of fanaticism and faction, victory was hopeless, and defence was difficult; but the conclusion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the Church is accused of maintaining with the miscreants an intercourse of hospitality and friendship, unworthy of a Christian; of despising the barrenness of the land; and of indulging a profane thought—that if Jehovah had seen the kingdom of Naples, he never would have selected Palestine for the inheritance of his chosen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the Sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of

* Read *Sketches of Venetian History*, 'Family Library,' vol. i. ch. v.

Bethlehem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon: the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the Holy Sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosque of the temple, from whence the Prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven.* The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration; and the weaker Moslems were gradually expelled; but every rational object of the Crusades was accomplished without bloodshed; the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished; and in the space of fifteen years the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of 6,000.'—*a*.

Return of the Emperor from the Crusade; he marches into Italy; reconciliation with the Pope, who releases him from the interdict. Efforts of Frederic to prevent the internal dissolution with which the Empire was threatened from the ambitious aspirations of the Church, the nobility, and the great cities, to independence. He endeavours first to create a well-regulated temporal State in his Italian kingdom, before carrying it out on a larger scale in the Empire of Germany. His object to create a ministry to replace the irregular diets, and to levy a tax instead of receiving the tardy and insufficient imperial contributions. He publishes a code of laws in a great diet held at Capua, 1231; but '*is before his age*.' His innovations highly displeasing to the Pope, Gregory IX.

The **Vehmgericht** or **Feme** (the secret tribunal) founded about this period; and the design drawn out for the cathedral of Cologne. North Saxony shakes off the Danish yoke. **Prussia and Livonia subdued and colonised by the Germans.**

Nine years of peace between the Papacy and the Empire; cruel persecution of the heretics by the power of the Inquisition, to whose tender mercies the Emperor, proclaiming himself the most loyal subject of the Church, abandons the

* The Mahometan traditions on this subject are given in Barclay's *City of the Great King*, and in Robinson's *Researches in the Holy Land*, in their descriptions of the famous Mosque of Omar. They are mentioned also in Mr. Porter's *Handbook to Palestine*. The Keeper of the Mosque of Omar still points out to the traveller the mark of the horseshoe of Barak, Mahomet's angelic steed, on the famous rock *es Sakrah*, which I had the pleasure of seeing and sketching in 1862.

suspected among his Lombard subjects; not content with suppressing heresy in Germany. The Emperor assists the Pope (Gregory IX.) against his rebellious subjects the Romans. Rebellion of Henry, son of the Emperor (who had been left to govern Germany, with the title of King of the Romans), and treasonable league with Milan and the Lombard cities. 'The rebellion was as weak, as wanton and guilty. Frederic entered Germany with the scantiest attendance; the affrighted son, abandoned by all his partisans, met him at Worms, which beheld the sad sight of his arrest and imprisonment.'—*Mil.*

WAR BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE LOMBARD CITIES, deep in the conspiracy of Henry against the peace and power of the Emperor. Treachery of the Pope, who secretly supports them. Great victory of Corte Nuova gained by the Emperor over the Lombard cities, 1237. 'The great battle of Corte Nuova might seem to avenge the defeat of his ancestor, Frederic Barbarossa, at Legnano. The Carroccio of Milan, defended till nightfall, was stripped of its banners, and abandoned to the conqueror. Frederic entered Cremona, the palaces of which city could scarcely contain the captives, in a splendid ovation.'—*Mil.* **HOSTILITIES RENEWED BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE POPE.** The Emperor again excommunicated, 1239. He publishes an appeal to the Princes of Christendom. 'On Palm Sunday, and on the Thursday in Holy Week, Gregory pronounced excommunication against the Emperor; gave over his body to Satan for the good of his soul; absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, laid under interdict every place where he might be, and degraded all ecclesiastics who should perform the services of the Church before him, or maintain any intercourse with him.'—*Mil.*

Implacable hostility between, and mutual abuse of each other by, *the Emperor and the Pope*. Advance of Frederic on Rome; death of the Pope, Gregory IX. The Emperor again excommunicated by Innocent IV., 1243; and solemnly deposed by him in the Council of Lyons, 1245.* The Pope vainly attempts to raise Germany against the Emperor, and sets up as *anti-Emperor*, first, Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia, and afterwards William the Rude, Count of Holland.

* Read Milman's *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv. (bk. ix. ch. xv.), p. 429.

Frederic defies the utmost efforts of the Pope, but meets a great reverse at the siege of Parma, loses the bravest of his sons, Enzo, and meets with treachery from his personal attendants; dies suddenly,* 1250. 'The lustre of the seven crowns that adorned his brow, of that of the Roman empire, that of the kingdom of Germany, the iron diadem of Lombardy, and those of Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem, was far surpassed by his intellectual gifts and graces.'—*M.*

Great extension and power about this period, 1245, of the first great commercial league, or *Hansa*, generally called the **Hanseatic League**.† The Rhenish League subsequently formed to oppose and put down by force the heavy customs levied by the barbarous princes and knights on the Rhine.

The news of the Emperor's death is received by the Pope with exultation. 'Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad!'

Conrad IV., 1250 (son of Frederic II.), **EMPEROR** and King of Italy and Naples. The contest continued between the Emperor and the Pope. 'The imperial cause was sustained in Upper Italy by Ezzelino, a valiant Ghibelline noble; in Lower Italy by Manfred, one of the sons of the late Emperor.'—*M.* The war rages in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines with horrible bloodshed. Conrad, driven from the field in Germany, takes refuge in Italy, where he dies, probably from poison; after his death (1254), the Pope, Urban IV., solicits the aid of Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. Manfred defeated and slain, valiantly fighting at Benevento; is buried under the 'rock of roses,' ‡ 1266. Ezzelino defeated

* For the character of this great emperor, read Milman's *Lat. Christianity*, vol. iv. p. 451.

† 'The Hansa league extended to such a degree in the 13th and 14th centuries, as sometimes to include upwards of seventy cities; its fleets ruled the Northern Ocean, conquered entire countries, and reduced powerful sovereigns to submission. The union that existed between the cities was, nevertheless, far from firmly cemented, and the whole of its immense force was, from want of unanimity, seldom brought to bear at once upon its enemies.'—*Mém.* vol. ii. p. 63, ch. clxxvii.; see also p. 19, ch. clxxi. The term *Hansa* signified any association, the members of which paid a contribution.

‡ 'The hillock of stones, so called; under which he was buried by the French soldiers, who, touched by his beauty and gallantry, each of them cast

and killed at Cassano; his relations and adherents treated with frightful cruelty.

DOWNFALL OF THE POWER OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN IN ITALY.

The cause of CONRADIN, THE LAST OF THE HOHENSTAUFEN FAMILY (son of Conrad IV.), becomes hopeless; he retires to the Court of Louis of Bavaria; makes a gallant effort to regain his inheritance in Italy; is defeated by Charles of Anjou and the French at Scurcola; is betrayed into his hands by one of the Frangipani family, and beheaded in the market-place at Naples, 1268. 'Thus terminated the royal race of the Hohenstaufen, in which the highest earthly dignity and power, the most brilliant achievements in arms, extraordinary personal beauty, and rich poetical genius, were combined, and beneath whose rule the middle age and its creations, the church, the empire, the states, religion, and art, attained a height, whence they necessarily sank as the Hohenstaufen fell, like flowers that fade at parting day.'—*M.*

Power and wealth of the Lombard Republics, particularly Venice and Genoa, after the death of Frederic. War between Venice and Genoa,* 1250. The leading citizens in the different Republics make themselves despots and often tyrants. The war of the factions rages. 'The free cities of Italy, now delivered from the German yoke, began to enjoy and to abuse the blessings of wealth and liberty. Of a hundred independent republics, every one, except Venice, was destitute of a regular government, and torn by civil dissensions. The Guelphs and the Ghibellines, the nobles and the commons, contended for the sovereignty of their country. The most trifling incident was sufficient to produce a conspiracy, a tumult, and a revolution.'—*G. M. W.*

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM, a period of about twenty-two years, from circ. 1250–1273, of **ANARCHY AND CONFUSION**, '*die kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit*' (Goethe); during which the temporal power of which the Emperor had been deprived, instead of falling wholly into the hands of his antagonist the Pope, was scattered among the princes and cities of the Empire.

a stone upon his body.'—*Menzel*, vol. ii. ch. cix.; who quotes the reference to him in Dante, *Purg.* canto iii. :—

'L' ossa del corpo mio sariano ancora
In co del ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.'

* Read *Sketches of Venetian Hist.* vol. i. ch. v. p. 191 *segg.*

THE EMPIRE IS TRANSFORMED, through the usurpation by the princes of every prerogative hitherto enjoyed by the crown within their states, into a DUCAL ARISTOCRACY. They strive, aided by their feudal vassals and the clergy, to crush civil liberty by carrying on a disastrous war against the cities, in which they were warmly supported by the Pope.

Outrages and ferocity of the Robber Knights during this period. The cities form offensive and defensive alliances with each other.

'In Germany, the death of Frederic II. was succeeded by a long anarchy. The prerogatives and domains of the Emperors were usurped by the great vassals. Every gentleman exercised round his castle a licentious independence: the cities were obliged to seek protection from their walls and confederacies; and, from the Rhine and Danube to the Baltic, the names of peace and justice were unknown.'—*G. M. W.*

Great power during this period of Ottocar, King of Bohemia, circ. 1254–1278. He invades Prussia and Lithuania; conquers the duchies of Austria and Styria; acquires Carinthia by legacy; conquers the Hungarians in the battle of Croisenbrunn, 1259.

ANARCHY AND MISERY OF THE EMPIRE AT THIS PERIOD. The Flagellants. 'It was at this period, too, that one of those extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, which constantly occurred during the middle ages, relieved men's minds in some degree from the ordinary horrors and miseries. Who is surprised that mankind felt itself seized by a violent access of repentance, or that repentance disdained the usual form of discipline?

'The Flagellants seemed to rise almost simultaneously in different parts of Italy. They began in Perugia. The pestilential frenzy seized Rome; it spread through every city, Guelph and Ghibelline, crossed the Alps, and invaded Germany and France. Flagellation had long been a holy and meritorious discipline; it was now part of the monastic system. It had obtained a kind of dignity and importance, as the last sign of subjection to the sacerdotal power, the last mark of penitence for sins against the Church. Sovereign princes, as Raymond of Toulouse; kings, as Henry of England, had yielded their backs to the scourge. How entirely self-flagellation had become part of sanctity appears from its being the religious luxury of Louis IX. Peter Damiani had taught it by precept and example. Dominic, called the Cuirassier, had invited or popularised by his fame the usage of singing psalms to the accompaniment of self-scourging. It had come to have its stated value among works of penance.

'The present outburst was not the effect of popular preaching, of the eloquence of one or more vehement and ardent men, working on the passions and the fears of a vast auditory. It seemed as if mankind, at least Italian

mankind, was struck at once with a sudden paroxysm of remorse for the monstrous guilt of the age, which found vent in this wild but hallowed form of self-torture. All ranks, both sexes, all ages, were possessed with the madness—nobles, wealthy merchants, modest and delicate women, even children of five years-old. They stripped themselves naked to the waist, covered their faces that they might not be known, and went two and two in solemn slow procession, with a cross and a banner before them, scourging themselves till the blood tracked their steps, and shrieking out their doleful psalms. They travelled from city to city. Whenever they entered a city, the contagion seized all predisposed minds. This was done by night as by day. Not only were the busy mart and the crowded street disturbed by these processions: in the dead midnight they were seen with their tapers or torches gleaming before them in their awful and shadowy grandeur, with the lashing sound of the scourge and the screaming chant. Thirty-three days and a half, the number of the years of the Lord's sad sojourn in this world of man, was the usual period for the penance of each. In the burning heat of summer, when the wintry roads were deep in snow, they still went on. Thousands, thousands, tens of thousands joined the ranks, till at length the madness wore itself out. Some princes and magistrates, finding that it was not sanctioned by the Roman See, or by the authority of any great saint, began to interpose. That which had been the object of general respect became almost as rapidly the object of general contempt.'—*Mil.*

Death of the anti-Emperor William, Count of Holland, 1256; slain by the Frisians. Fresh competitors for the throne; *Count Hermann von Henneberg, Alfonso King of Castile, and Richard Earl of Cornwall*, brother of Henry III. of England, *simultaneously elected*, 1257; neither possesses any real power. 'Both obtained their election by bribing the electoral princes: as for Alfonso, buried in the study of astronomy, he never visited Germany; his rival was held in consideration only as long as his treasury was full.'—*M.* 'Richard owed the honour of his election entirely to his great wealth, which enabled him to bribe several of the electors. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and occasionally exercised such of the imperial rights as could be exercised by the stroke of a pen, or the expenditure of a little sealing-wax; but he never enjoyed any real authority in Germany.'—*K. P. C.*

The Rhenish League of some sixty Rhenish and Suabian towns; in great strength, about 1270; destroys the fastnesses of the robber knights, which are still to be seen standing—the picturesque memorials of those wild and lawless times.

The Interregnum terminated by the Election of Rudolph of Hapsburg,* 1273.

[Ein Richter war wieder auf Erden.—*Goethe.*]

'It was at length discovered that, without an appearance of union, the Germanic body could not subsist. The great princes, who began to assume the title of electors, agreed to invest a first magistrate with the dignity, but

* So called from the castle of Hapsburg, in Switzerland, on the Reuss.

not with the power, of their ancient Emperors. Their jealous caution successively fixed on Rudolph, Count of Hapsburg, and Adolph, Count of Nassau, whose fortune was far inferior to their birth and personal merit. The former however, who was father of the House of Austria, transmitted to his son Albert such ample hereditary dominions as enabled him to form a party against the Emperor Adolph, to wrest from him the sceptre, and to display that ambitious pride which has ever since been the characteristic of that family.'—*G. M. W.*

The House of Hapsburg,* 1273. Coronation of the Emperor Rudolph, 'the father of the House of Austria.'—*G.* at Aix la Chapelle.†

The Emperor does homage to the Pope, Gregory X., who came in person, for the purpose, to Lausanne; receives the submission of Ottocar, King of Bohemia; represses rebellion and restores order, as far as his power permits him to do so; destroys numerous castles of the robber knights; grants charters to many cities; gives his six daughters in marriage to six princes ('*Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube*'), and succeeds, though only during short and broken intervals, in re-establishing order.

War with Ottocar, King of Bohemia, 1275, who is defeated and killed. **Prussia finally conquered**, after a long war, **by the Teutonic Order**, the Prussians being extirpated and their country colonised by Poles, Brabanters, Bohemians, and Germans, about 1280.‡

* 'From the accession of Rudolph the history of Germany assumes a double aspect, that of the Empire, and that of the House of Austria.'—*J. G. L.*

† Read Schiller's beautiful ballad on the subject, beginning *Zu Machen in seiner Kaiserpracht*, &c., &c.

‡ Read in especial Milman's *Lat. Christ.* bk. xii. ch. v. vol. v. p. 404. 'For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose again and again in revolt, but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German Crusade. Wherever there was a martial and restless noble who found no adventure or no enemy in his immediate neighbourhood; whenever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toll, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, the old but now decried, now unpopular Crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights. So at length, by their own good swords, and what they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title—the grants of Popes and Emperors—the Order became sovereigns; and the whole

The Emperor invests his son Rudolph with the dukedom of Suabia, and marries him to Agnes, daughter of Ottocar, the late King of Bohemia; he invests his second son, Albert, with the dukedom of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, and marries him to the daughter of the Count of Tyrol; but endeavours in vain to name him as his successor to the Imperial throne, and to make the Imperial crown hereditary.* 'The chagrin produced by the refusal of the princes hastened his death, which took place 1291.'—*M.*

During this reign, bloody feuds take place wherever the Emperor's power is not sufficiently confirmed to prevent them; his eldest son Rudolph dies young, leaving an infant, Johannes, who was utterly neglected; his second son, Albert, inherited the Hapsburg possessions; his third son, Hartmann, was drowned in the Rhine, near Lauffin.

Adolph of Nassau, elected **Emperor**, 1291. 'His election was managed by his cousin, Gerhard, Archbishop of Mayence, the arch-chancellor of the Empire, in the name of the Pope, by inducing the electors, who were divided in their choice, to commit it to him alone. The Emperor Adolph was a poor count, brave, but a slave to the lowest debauchery, and misguided by his intriguing cousin.'—*M.* Disgraceful concessions of his Imperial rights are extorted from the Emperor as the price of his accession.†

Feuds rage throughout the Empire; the Emperor is treated with derision by his subjects. 'Along the Rhine, the lord of a single tower was usually a sovereign prince. The petty tyrants, whose boast it was that they owed fealty only to God and the Emperor, showed themselves in practice equally regardless of both powers.'—*B.*

The Emperor's reign one perpetual series of troubles. Albert, son of the late Emperor, Rudolph, takes up arms. Adolph is deposed by the electors, or their deputies convoked at Mayence. 'The chief object of the magnates was to keep the

land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only: apostasy forfeited all title to land.'

* 'The Swiss Cantons had confidence in the Emperor Rudolph.'—*J. G. L.*

† Read Milman's *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* bk. xi. ch. vii. vol. v. p. 169. Besides other grants, immunities, and concessions paid as the price of his election to the Archbishop and the Princes of the Empire, the Emperor agreed to make over all the Jews of Mentz to the Archbishop, and not to intermeddle with causes which belonged to the Spiritual Courts, nor to allow them to be brought before temporal tribunals.

monarch in his present state of helplessness. Their practice was to confer the Imperial crown on some petty prince, such as were Rudolph and Adolph of Nassau, seeking whom they could, to keep the crown from settling in one family. They bound the newly-elected to respect all their present immunities, including those which they had just extorted as the price of their votes; they checked all his attempts to recover lost lands and rights; they ventured at last to depose their anointed head.'—*B.*

Adolph is slain in battle, fighting bravely, by Albert, 1298. 'The one great quality of Adolph of Nassau, his personal bravery, was his ruin: he hastened to meet his rival in battle near Worms, plunged fiercely into the fray, and was slain.'—*Mil.*

Albert of Austria (or Albert I.), Emperor and titular King of the Romans, 1298. 'This monster had at length, when hoary with age, obtained his joyless aim.'—*M.* 'Rudolph of Hapsburg transmitted to his son Albert such ample hereditary dominions as enabled him to form a party against the Emperor Adolph, to wrest from him the sceptre, and to display that ambitious pride which has ever since been the characteristic of that family.'—*G. M. W.*

Persecution of the Jews during this and the last Emperor's reign; exactions, tyranny, and cruelty of the German bailiffs, appointed by Albert, in Switzerland; lead to the insurrection, in the next reign, of William Tell.*

Albert is at first excommunicated by the Pope (Boniface VIII.), as guilty of rebellion, treason, and murder; but 'the quarrel of the Pope with France and Philip IV. *le Bel* rendering the alliance with the Emperor a matter almost of necessity, the perjured usurper of the Empire, the murderer of his blameless predecessor, became, without difficulty, the legitimate King of the Romans, the uncontested sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire.'—*Mil.*

War with Wenzel (or Wenceslas), King of Bohemia; Albert lays claim to Hungary; assassinated by his nephew, John, 1308. 'No sovereign was ever less regretted.'—*R.*

The Imperial throne remains vacant about seven months; great power at this period of Philip IV. *le Bel*, of France, who defies the Pope, Boniface VIII., and his famous bulls, '*Ausculta Fili*' and '*Unam Sanctam*,'† seizes the Pope in Rome itself, imprisons him, and claims the crown of Germany for his brother, Charles of Valois; electors fear his power, and, dreading the Hapsburgs as much, resolve to raise a petty count, Henry of Luxemburg, to the throne.

* 'The three Cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwald, rise in arms. The story of William Tell has been doubted by modern critics.'—*J. G. L.*

† Read Milman's *Hist. of Lat. Christ.* bk. xl. ch. ix. vol. v. pp. 232 and 241.

[Transference about this period of the Papal seat from Rome to Avignon, effected by Philip of France; the Popes remain at Avignon for seventy years, from 1305-1375; 'the Babylonish captivity;' the Papal Power dependent on the French Kings.]

Henry of Luxemburg (also called **Henry VII.**) as **Emperor**, 1308, 'known to fame as the best knight of the day in the lists.'—*M.* Proclaimed at Rhense,* on the left bank of the Rhine, near Brauchbach: 'at once a just, a religious, and a popular sovereign.'—*Mil.* 'One of the noblest monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Germany.'—*M.* The policy of Henry VII. was to repel the assumptions and encroachments of France, to extend the power of the Empire abroad, to pacify the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, and to restore peace and tranquillity in Germany.

Marriage of John, son of the Emperor, to Elizabeth, sister of King Wenzel, and heiress of Bohemia.

Expedition of the Emperor into Italy, 1310; he proceeds with the work of pacification, restores the exiles of both factions, whether Guelph or Ghibelline; overawes the Lombard cities, which acknowledge his supremacy: revolts of Milan, Cremona, and Brescia, which are subdued. Henry advances to Rome, and is crowned there, in the Church of St. John Lateran, St. Peter's being still in the possession of Robert, King of Naples, head of the Guelphic faction, and the Orsini family. 'Henry endeavoured to achieve that in which had been discomfited the Othos, Henrys, and Frederics;† but the ban of the Empire had no more terror than the excommunication of the Pope for the Guelphic faction, who, more Papalist than the Pope, disclaimed the Emperor, though under the escort of cardinal legates.'—*Mil.*

War continued by Henry against the anti-Imperialist League, headed by Florence; death, during the campaign,

* Where the Imperial seat, a species of lofty stone throne, called the Königstuhl, stood. Of the ancient throne but little is left, but it has been supplied by a modern imitation, on the spot where the original stood. I have frequently seen it during walking tours up and down the river's bank. See Büdeker's Rhine Handbook, *Rhense*; and Murray's *Handbook to North Germany*.

† Read Milman's *Lat. Christ.* bk. xii. ch. iv. vol. v. p. 391.

of the Emperor, perhaps by poison, 1313. 'His magnanimous character struck even his adversaries. He was a man, writes the Guelph Villani, never depressed by adversity, never in prosperity elated with pride or intoxicated with joy.'—*Mil.*

Fresh Interregnum of about a year, followed by the double and disputed election of

**Louis, Duke of Bavaria, and } 1314. THE EM-
Frederic, Duke of Austria, }**
**PIRE PLUNGED INTO INEXTRICABLE CON-
FUSION.**

The Empire and Italy are desolated by civil war, from 1314–1322. 'For part of eight years, Pope John XXII. had the satisfaction of hearing that the fertile fields of Germany were laid waste, her noble cities burned, the Rhine and her affluents running with the blood of Christian men; while Italy fell back into her old anarchy. He might look on with complacency, admitting neither title, and awaiting the time when he would no longer dissemble his own designs.'—*Mil.*

Defeat of Leopold of Austria by the Confederate Swiss of the Forest Cantons at Morgarten,* 1315.† 'War had long been fermenting in the mountains. *William Tell* had commenced the insurrection which afterwards became general in 1303; and shortly afterwards a confederacy for ten years had been entered into by the Cantons of Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden.'

The war between the Emperors is mainly remarkable for procrastination and indecision, the consequence of their want of confidence in their allies.

Decisive battle of Muhldorf (in Bavaria), 1322, in which Frederic of Austria is conquered and taken prisoner; **Louis of Bavaria, or Louis IV., sole Emperor, 1322.**

The Pope (the infamous John XXII.) claims the right to award the Empire, excommunicates the Emperor 'for not presenting himself at Avignon in all humility at the footstool of the Papal throne to receive the Papal sentence.' The Emperor appeals to a General Council; holds a *Diet at Frankfort*, and issues a Proclamation, in which 'he defies the power of the Pope as an enemy of peace, and his interference in the temporal affairs of the Empire as the act not of a vicar of Christ, but of a cruel and lawless tyrant.'—*M.*

* Read that very pretty book called *Parallels of History*, vol. i. ch. vii. p. 299 *seqq.* published in *Lib. of Entertaining Knowledge*; and Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cxxxvi. p. 118.

† 'Morgarten the Marathon of Switzerland. 1,300 Swiss defeat 22,000 Austrians. Lucern and then other Cantons join the confederacy.'—*J. G. L.*

Expedition of the Emperor into Italy, after effecting a reconciliation with Frederic (whom he releases from prison), and the restoring of tranquillity in Germany, 1327; is crowned at Milan, and at Rome, 1328, where he declares the Pope (John XXII.) to be deposed as guilty of treason and heresy, burns him in effigy, and sets up an anti-Pope, Nicholas V.*

Louis IV. forced soon to abandon Rome by the families of the Colonnas and Orsini, and through general defection, to recross the Alps. 'Louis retired to Trent, and for ever abandoned his short-lived kingdom of Italy.'—*Mil.* Is excommunicated successively by Benedict XII. and Clement VI.,† to the latter of whom the Emperor submits, and agrees to the most humiliating terms, 1343. 'Louis was constantly vacillating between the most haughty defiance of the Pope and the meanest submission; and thus, without appeasing his enemies, had sunk into the most abject contempt with his rightful partisans.' The Pope causes Charles of Moravia,‡ son of John, King of Bohemia, and representative of the House of Luxemburg, to be elected by a faction as anti-Emperor. Fresh excommunication of Louis IV., who shortly afterwards dies. 'Louis died unexpectedly (during a bear-hunt); the last Emperor excommunicated by the Pope; the Emperor, of all those that had been involved in strife with the Papacy, who had demeaned himself to the lowest baseness of submission.'—*Mil.*

During this period war rages between England and France, and John, the old blind King of Bohemia, is killed at the battle of Crecy, 1346. The Popes still continue to reside at Avignon.

The Empire is offered by the electors to Edward III. of England, but declined; the electors then choose Günther of Schwarzenburg, but he resigns and shortly afterwards dies; Charles submits to a new election at Frankfort, and is crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

* Read Milman's *Lat. Christ.* bk. xii. ch. vii. vol. v. p. 472 *seqq.*

† Read the extract of the excommunication in Milman's *Lat. Christ.* bk. xii. ch. ix. vol. v. p. 505.

‡ Also called Charles of Bavaria, afterwards Emperor as Charles IV.

HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG, RESTORED.

Charles of Bavaria (son of the King of Bohemia, and representative of the House of Luxemburg), **Emperor, as Charles IV., 1346.** 'Charles was undisputed Emperor: his prudence, or his want of ambition, kept him in dutiful submission to the Pope.'—*M.* 'He was the first of the Emperors who introduced the foreign policy against which his predecessors on the throne had so manfully and unsuccessfully striven. This Emperor appeared to think that honour had vanished, leaving caution in its stead.'—*M.*

The Black Plague desolates Europe, 'startling even the voluptuous court of Avignon to seriousness,' 1350.* 'Fearful natural visitations and signs now filled all Europe with alarm. In 1337, appeared a great comet; during the three ensuing years, an enormous multitude of locusts; in 1348, the end of the world seemed at hand; an earthquake of extraordinary violence devastated Cyprus, Greece, Italy, and the Alpine valleys as far as Basle. Mountains were swallowed up. In Carinthia, thirty villages and the tower of Vallach were reduced to heaps of ruins. The air was thick, pestilential, and stifling. Wine fermented in the casks. Fiery meteors appeared in the heavens. A gigantic pillar of flame was seen hovering over the Papal palace at Avignon. A second earthquake, that destroyed almost the whole of Basle, occurred in 1356. These horrors were succeeded by a dreadful pestilence called the Black Death, its victims being covered with black spots like burns, and often instantly dropping down dead. It first appeared in China, whence it traversed Asia, and spread over Europe. At Basle, 14,000 people fell victims to it; at Strasburg and Erfurt, 16,000; and so on in proportion throughout Germany; and yet, according to the historians of that period, Germany suffered less than any other countries.

'The day of judgment was declared to be at hand, and a letter, said to have been addressed from Jerusalem by the Creator of the world to his sinning creatures, was dispersed throughout Europe by a wandering tribe of penitents or flagellants, who, like their Italian predecessors in the thirteenth century, cruelly lashed themselves as they went along, singing penitential songs. They marched in good order under various leaders, and were distinguished by white hats with red crosses. These penitents at first created great enthusiasm, which gradually decreased as the pestilence died away; and [A.D. 1349] Clement VI., who rightly beheld in them the commencement of a great reformation, launched a bull against and persecuted them as heretics. They preached, confessed, and forgave sins, pronounced the absolution granted by the Church to be of no avail; upbraided the priests for their hypocrisy and luxury; and taught that all men were brethren, and equal in the sight of God.'—*M.*

Increasing poverty of the Empire at this period; the crown lands, from which the Saxon and Franconian Emperors had drawn the chief part of their revenue, being even more and more usurped during the confusion of disputed successions; and the Regalian rights, the second fiscal resource,

* Read Bryce, p. 97.

such as tolls, customs, mines, rights of coining, of harbouring Jews and so forth, being either seized or granted away; even the advowsons of churches being mortgaged or sold; and the Imperial treasury depending mainly on an inglorious traffic in honours and exemptions.

The Emperor goes into Italy at the head of a small force, visits Rome, is crowned there, and immediately leaves the city in observance of the humiliating agreement previously made with the Pope, 1354. 'Notwithstanding the urgent entreaties and tempting offers of the Ghibelline chieftains, and a vigorous and eloquent remonstrance of Petrarch, whose poetic imagination would have raised him into a deliverer, a champion of the Unity of Italy, as Dante Henry of Luxemburg, Charles pursued his inglorious course, and quietly retired beyond the Alps, virtually abandoning all the Imperial rights in Italy.'—*Mil.* While at Rome, the Emperor seizes, imprisons, and treacherously delivers up to the Pope (Innocent VI.) Rienzi ('the last of the Tribunes,' properly called Cola di Rienzi), who had incautiously put himself into his power.

Cession of the hereditary district about Arles, the '**Arclat**,' by the Emperor to the Dauphin of France, hence afterwards called the Dauphinat.

Charles IV. succeeds in disuniting the Pope from France, and, reconciling himself to the Pope, and withdrawing entirely from Italian politics, strives to end the internal dissensions of the Empire, to reintegrate all that remained of it, and to settle its constitution.

PROMULGATION OF THE FAMOUS GOLDEN BULL, 1355, 'the first among the fundamental laws of the Empire published by the Emperor, with the consent of the electors, princes, counts, nobility, and towns imperial.'—*Sm.* **The Golden Bull fixes the number of the Electoral princes at seven**, viz., the three spiritual electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, and the four electors of the great lay fiefs of Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate (or Rhenish Pfalz): it gave to these the full, absolute, and unlimited power of election, and declared the electoral dignity to be attached for ever to

these hereditary and indivisible fiefs.* The electors are also declared almost-independent sovereign princes, and exercise the *jus de non evocando*, thereby depriving their subjects of the right of appeal to the Emperor.†

‘Charles IV.’s skilful and consistent policy aimed at settling what he perhaps despaired of reforming; and the famous instrument which, under the name of the Golden Bull, became the corner-stone of the Germanic constitution, confessed and legalised the independence of the electors and the powerlessness of the crown. The most conspicuous defect of the existing system was the uncertainty of the elections, followed as they usually were by a civil war. It was this which Charles set himself to redress.’—*Br.*

‘By one sagacious or fortunate measure he terminated the long strife between the Papacy and the Empire.’—*Mil.*

Charles, as King of Bohemia, draws up a new code of laws for that country, and incorporates it, with Moravia, Silesia, &c., into the Empire; encourages trade, mining, manufactures, agriculture; improves the river navigation of Bohemia; brings German artificers into Bohemia and Silesia; converts the whole of Bohemia into a garden; founds the first German University at Prague, 1348 (followed during his reign by that of Vienna, 1365, and shortly afterwards by that of Heidelberg, 1386), where he also builds the Hradschin, and the celebrated bridges. ‘His age that of masons and architects.’—*M.*

Great power at this period of the Hanseatic League.

The Emperor visits the Pope, Urban VI., at Avignon; and afterwards at Rome, 1368, on the Pope’s return thither, ‘In Rome the Emperor led the Pope’s horse from the castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter’s, and served him as a deacon during the high service.’—*Mil.*

Wars between the great cities and the nobles in many parts of the Empire, particularly in Suabia; the cities acquire great power; wars of the Hansa, or Hanseatic League, against Norway and Denmark, which it compels to submit to humiliating terms.

* Read more in Milman, book xii. ch. xi. vol. v. p. 549; Menzel, vol. ii. ch. clxxix. p. 135; and Professor Smyth’s *Lects. on History*, vol. i. lect. viii. p. 215. Cf. also Bryce’s *Essay*, p. 100.

† This bull dissipated and divided the vast resources of Germany. Henceforward, in the Imperial dignity there was a strange mixture of ostentation and weakness.

Invention of gunpowder by Schwarz, 1354, at Freiburg, and of Cannon founding, by John of Aarau, 1372, } in this reign.

Wars during the reign of the Dukes of Austria, the Hapsburg family, with the Swiss Confederation; the Swiss gain the advantage generally; the Hapsburg family acquire, however, Carinthia and the Tyrol, and the city of Trieste.

The Emperor meditates the restoration of tranquillity and order by means of an alliance with the Hansa, but his proposals are rejected by the cities; the Emperor procures the nomination of his son, Wenceslas, titular King of the Romans, as his successor, by bribing the electors.

Wenceslas, son of Charles IV., **Emperor**, 1378, and *King of Bohemia*, 'a tyrant, given up to cruelty, idleness, and drunkenness.'—*M.* Massacre of many of the Bohemian nobility by the Emperor at Prague; John von Nepomuck thrown into the river. 'He was, by the Emperor's order, cast headlong during the night from the great bridge over the Moldau (where his statue now stands) into the stream. He was afterwards canonised by the Church as a martyr, and made the patron saint of all bridges.' Great massacre of the Jews (3,000) in Prague.

The Emperor is seized and imprisoned by his brother Sigmund, 1393; but again set free; commits fresh cruelties and debaucheries. 'Wenceslas would gladly (to use his own expression) have relinquished the Empire, with its remaining prerogatives, for a few hogsheds of Rhenish or Florence wine.'—*G. M. W.*

The great Schism in the Papacy at this time; lasts from 1378–1429; commenced under Urban VI., at Rome, and Clement VII., at Avignon. Urban VI. is acknowledged by the Emperor and the German archbishops at a diet held at Frankfort.

War between Leopold, Duke of Austria, the representative of the Hapsburg family, and the Confederation of Switzerland, 1385. *Battle of Sempach*,* 1386 (defeat and

* Read vol. i. ch. vii. p. 306 *seqq.* of *Historical Parallels* (*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*). 'Arnold of Underwalden opens a passage through the Austrian pikes.'—*J. G. L.*

34 INVASION OF HUNGARY BY BAJAZET, CIRC. 1400.

death of Leopold of Austria); and of *Nafala*, 1388, won by the peasants of Glarus.

Great struggle for freedom on the part of the confederated cities in Suabia and on the Rhine; wars between them and the confederations of the nobility.

Invasion of Hungary by the Sultan Bajazet and an enormous Turkish army. 'The enthusiasm caused by the Crusades had long died away, and it was with difficulty that Sigismund, the Emperor's brother, who had become King of Hungary by marriage, raised 60,000 men, among whom were 6,000 Burgundians and French, for the siege of Nicopolis, A.D. 1396.'—*M.* **Battle of Nicopolis**, and defeat of the army of Sigismund, after a long and terrible engagement. Massacre of the Christian captives after the battle, 1396. 'Bajazet I. deserved his surname of Ilderim, or Lightning, by the rapid impetuosity with which he flew from the Euphrates to the Danube. He triumphed by turns over the Mahometans of Asia Minor, and the Christians of Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, and Greece; and the total defeat of an army of French in the battle of Nicopolis spread the terror of his name to the most remote parts of Europe.'—*G. M. W.* 'Sigismund escaped to Constantinople with five followers.'—*J. G. L.*

The Emperor Wenzel is, from his incapacity, brutality, and drunkenness, deposed in 1400, but continues to reign in Prague till 1419. **Rupert**, Count Palatine, or Pfalzgraf of the Rhine, elected **Emperor**, 1400. 'The chief object of the magnates was to keep the monarch in his present state of helplessness. Till the expenses which the crown entailed were found ruinous to its wearer, their practice was to confer it on some petty prince, such as were Rudolph, and Adolph of Nassau, and Gunther of Schwartzburg, seeking, when they could, to keep it from settling in one family. They bound the newly-elected to respect all their present immunities, including those which they had just extorted as the price of their votes; they checked all his attempts to recover lost lands or rights; they ventured at last to depose their anointed head, Wenzel of Bohemia.'—*Br.*

Unsuccessful expedition of the Emperor Rupert into Italy against Milan and the powerful family of the Visconti, 1402. 'Imperial authority in Italy ended with the life of Henry VII. Rupert did indeed cross the Alps, but it was as the hireling of Florence: he was indeed crowned at Rome, as also were Lewis IV. and Sigismund, but it was at the behest of a faction, which found them useful tools for a time, and then flung them away in scorn.'—*Br.*

Continued decline and financial distress of the Empire. 'Things were so bad under Rudolph that the electors refused to make his own son, Albert, King of the Romans, declaring that while Rudolph lived, the public revenue, which with difficulty supported one monarch, could much less maintain two at the same time.'—*Br.*

Death of the Emperor Rupert, 1411, 'deserted by all his partisans, and treated with universal disrespect.'—*M.*

THE GREAT SCHISM IN THE PAPACY at its height about this period. **THE COUNCIL OF PISA**, 1409, deposes the two rival Popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., and elects Alexander V.

Three rival Popes at once. Alexander V. dies next year, and John XXIII.* is elected, 1410. 'The world was scandalised by beholding three Popes at once, as if in mockery of the Holy Trinity.'—*M.*

Sigismund, OF THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG, King of Hungary, and brother of the deposed Emperor Wenzel, elected by a majority of the electors, **Emperor**, 1411. Jodoc, 'called also Jobst or Jossus,'—*J. G. L.* of Moravia had been elected anti-Emperor; but dies shortly afterwards. 'Sigismund † was now sole and uncontested Emperor.'

Great religious movement in Germany about this time, for the liberty and reformation of the Church, commenced by **JOHN HUSS**, about 1409, principally occasioned by the spread of *Wycliffe's* writings in Bohemia. 'The marriage of King Wenzel's sister, Anne of Bohemia, to Richard II. of England, had brought the two realms into close connection, exactly at the time when the doctrines of Wycliffe were making their most rapid progress. Bohemian students sat at the feet of the bold professor of theology at Oxford; English students were found at Prague. The writings of Wycliffe were brought in great numbers, some in Latin, some translated into Bohemian, and disseminated by admiring partisans.'—*Mil.*

Spread of the doctrines of Huss, or, 'John of Hussinetz, a village in Bohemia;'—*Mil.* he denounces the wealth and the corruptions of the Church—in especial, the sale of indulgences. The University of Prague is rent with feuds and dissensions. The German professors and students quit Prague in a body; Huss becomes Rector of the University; one of his most distinguished converts and pupils, Hieronymus Faulfisch, generally called Jerome of Prague.

* A Pope charged, at least, with every imaginable crime.—*Mil.* Read *Milman's Hist. of Lat. Christ.* bk. xiii. ch. v. vol. vi. p. 82 *seqq.*

† A very unfavourable view of his character is taken by Menzel, vol. ii. p. 155, ch. cxxxiii.

The foreign students return to their own countries, where
 the Saxons found, 1408, the University of Leipsic,
 the Bavarians " " " Ingoldstadt,
 the Poles " " " Cracow.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 'the second great General Council for the reformation of the Church, and one of the most numerous assemblies of Christendom,' (*O. C. T.*) is summoned, on their own authority, by the College of Cardinals, who thereby do, by this independent act, declare themselves superior to, and condemn all, the three rival Popes.* 'The Council had been summoned for three principal objects: 1. The union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope; 2. The reformation of the clergy, in its head and its members; 3. The extirpation of erroneous and heretical doctrines.'—*Mil.*

The Pope (John XXIII.) cites Huss to appear at Rome. 'Huss, the man of irreproachable morals, cited to appear before the tribunal of a Pope, charged, at least, with every imaginable crime.'—*M.*

The Emperor aspires to restore peace to the Church; sends a safe-conduct to John Huss to appear before the Council of Constance, which is shamefully violated. 'At Nuremberg he was met by three Bohemian nobles, who bore from Spire the Imperial safe-conduct, couched in the strictest and fullest terms, guaranteeing his safe entrance and his safe return from Constance.'—*Mil.* Huss appears before the Council; is examined; refuses to recant; his sentence and cruel Execution, 1415. 'Huss was led away with two of the headsman's servants before him, two behind. Eight hundred horse followed, and the whole multitude from the city. Over a narrow bridge they went in single file, lest it should break with their weight. They stopped before the Bishop's palace, that Huss might gaze on the pile on which his books lay burning. He only smiled at this ineffectual act of vengeance. As he went along he addressed the people in German, protesting against the injustice of his sentence, "His adversaries had been able to convince him of no error." The place of execution was a meadow without the walls. He knelt, recited several psalms, with the perpetual burden, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me. Into thy hands I commend my spirit." "We know not," said the people, "what this man may have done; we only know that his prayers to God are excellent." They asked if he would have a confessor. A priest on a stately horse, and richly attired, protested that no confessor should be granted to a heretic. But Reichenthal, as himself relates, called forth Ulric Schorand, a man of piety and wisdom. But Ulric required that Huss should first retract the errors for which he was condemned. Huss declined to confess on such terms. "I have no need, I am guilty of no mortal sin." He endeavoured to address the people again in German. The Elector Palatine refused permission. Then Huss prayed aloud, "Lord Jesus, for thy sake I endure with patience this cruel death. I

* Read 'Council of Constance,' in Milman's *Lat. Christ.* vol. vi. bk. xiii. ch. vi. p. 155 *seqq.*

beseech thee to pardon mine enemies." As he spoke, the paper mitre fell from his head. The rude soldiers replaced it: "He shall be burned with all his devils." He spoke gently to his guards. "I trust that I shall reign with Christ, since I die for his Gospel."

"He was then tied fast by an old rusty chain to the stake affixed on a platform. The Elector Palatine and the Marshal Oppenheim advanced, and again urged him to recant. Huss replied that he willingly signed his testimony with his blood. All he had taught and written was to save men's souls from Satan, and from the dominion of sin. The fire blazed up; it is said that an old woman was busy in heaping the wood. "Oh, holy simplicity!" said Huss. With the last feeble sounds of his voice he was heard to chant verses of the Psalms, and to pray to the Redeemer. All the remains of the body were torn in pieces, even his clothes thrown into the fire; the ashes were gathered and thrown into the lake, lest his disciples should make reliques of them. But their faithful piety scraped together the earth around the pile, and carried it to Bohemia.

"So perished John Huss, as an obstinate incorrigible heretic, but his heresy has never been clearly defined. It was not a denial of any of the great doctrinal truths of universal Christianity, nor any of those tenets of belief rejected afterwards by the German and English reformers. On transubstantiation (notwithstanding the subtleties of his adversaries), the communion in one kind, worship of the Saints and of the Virgin Mary, Huss was scrupulously, unimpeachably orthodox. He was the martyr to the power of the hierarchy, not the power of the Pope, which the Council itself had renounced in its extreme theory; his testimony was against that supreme ecclesiastical dominion which had so long ruled the mind of man."—*Mil. Lat. Christ.*

The Pope, John XXIII., previously to Huss's martyrdom, deposed by the Council of Constance, which cites him to appear 'to answer for the maintenance of the schism, for heresy, simony, maladministration and notorious dilapidations of the estates and possessions of the Papacy; for the scandals and notorious criminalities of his life and conversation.'—*Mil.* **The Council of Constance** thereby proclaims itself **the Supreme Authority of Christendom**, and asserts **the Superiority of General Councils to the Pope.**

Trial and burning of Jerome of Prague, the next year, 1416. Martin V. chosen Pope.

COMMENCEMENT OF DISTURBANCES IN BOHEMIA, AND OUTBREAK OF THE HUSSITE WARS, about 1419, lasting nearly sixteen years.* The Emperor Sigismund becomes King of Bohemia, on the death of King Wenzel; the Bohemians refuse to acknowledge him, and take up arms; John Ziska and Procopius,

* The movement of the Hussites resembled, in many respects, that of the Puritans.—*J. G. L.*

commanders of the Hussites ; * five crusades against them, preached by the Pope, and led by the Emperor with the full force of the Empire ; victories of the Hussites at Wyschebrad, Saaz, Deutschbrod, Aussitz, and Taas. 'Of all wars, none was so horribly, remorselessly, ostentatiously cruel as this—a war of races, of languages, and of religion. It was a strife of revenge, of reprisal, of extermination, considered to be the holiest of duties. On one side no faith was to be kept, no mercy shown to heretics : to cut off the spreading plague by any means was paramount to all principles of law or gospel. On the other, vengeance was to be wreaked on the enemies of God's people, and therefore the enemies of God : to root out idolatry was the mission of the Bohemians ; mortal sin was to be cut off with the righteous sword ; and the whole priesthood, all monks, friars, nuns, were so utterly depraved, according to their sweeping condemnation, that it was only to fulfil the Divine commandment to extirpate the irreclaimable order. These terrible theories were relentlessly carried into more terrible practice. Kuttenberg, the second city in the realm, the rival of Prague—Catholic and German as Prague was Hussite and Bohemian—burned, beheaded, hanged all who would not retract their opinions. They bought the prisoners taken in war for a few groschen a head (five times as much for a preacher as for a common man), and executed them without trial, without mercy. They are charged with having put to death sixteen hundred men. The Hussites, whenever they could, perpetrated horrible reprisals ; for so many of their brethren as were burned they hanged as many monks and friars. The names assigned to their fortresses, and assumed by the more fanatic Hussites, Taborites, Horebites, show from which part of the Bible they drew their prevailing principles. Some of the preachers proclaimed the approaching end of the world. Christ was already coming, already come. The enemies of the truth were to be exterminated ; the good alone preserved, and put in the five faithful cities. Bohemia boasted, beyond all kingdoms of Europe, of her magnificent religious buildings, not in her cities alone, but in her villages. Fanaticism, maddened by persecution and by its own blind fury, warred on all that was splendid. The sky-aspiring churches, of vast length and width, on their pillars and arching vaults of stone ; the stately altars, where the reliques of the saints were enshrined in gold and silver ; the embroidered vestments, inlaid with precious stones ; the gorgeous vessels ; the rich painted windows—all was demolished—all was ruin, havoc, desolation.'—*Mil. Lat. Christ.*

Negotiations carried on between the Emperor and the Hussite leaders at the Council of Basle, 1431, after the repeated defeats of the Imperial armies, in spite of immense numerical superiority ; and the imposition, for the purpose of paying them, of THE COMMON PENNY, fixed by the Diet of Nuremberg, as THE FIRST GENERAL TAX, THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE, in 1428. Procopius, also called Procop Holy, and the Hussite leaders accept peace on the conditions of the Articles of Prague ; but the

* Read the sketch of Zisca and his exploits in Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ch. v. vol. ii. p. 102 ; an extract from which is given in the Appendix.

war recommences; dissensions break out among the Hussites; their parties the *Calixtines* or *Utraquists*, the *Taborites*, and the *Horebites*; they are finally defeated, and their leaders, after a desperate resistance, hunted down and exterminated, 1431-1434. *Compact of Iglau*, between the Emperor and the Hussites, establishing a religious peace,* 1435.

The Emperor acknowledged King of Bohemia, after his return from Rome, where he is crowned by the Pope, Eugenius IV., 1433. 'After openly procrastinating the ceremony, the Pope at length gave full vent to his displeasure by causing the crown to be placed awry on Sigismund's head by another ecclesiastic, and then pushing it straight with his foot as the Emperor knelt before him.'—*M.* Death of the Emperor, 1437.

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING about this time, 1436.†

RESTORATION OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG. 1438-1740.

Albert of Austria (married Elizabeth, daughter of Sigismund, 'who brought as her dower the whole of the Luxemburg inheritance, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Lausitz, and Hungary'), **Emperor, as Albert II., King of Hungary and King of the Romans.** 'The wealth and great possessions of the House of Hapsburg had ever been chiefly acquired by marriage; hence the proverb, "Infelix Austria nube!"'—*M.* 'During the Hussite war, Albert had acted with equal vigour and prudence; he had assisted Sigismund with his counsels, and led his own forces against the insurgents; and while the rest of the German forces were panic-struck at the name of the Hussites, Albert, at the head of his brave Austrians, was alone successful.'—*C.*

Albert expels the Poles from Bohemia, finally extinguishes the ashes of the Hussite war, and restores peace to Bohemia. 'He fiercely persecuted, however, both heretics and Jews, burning no less than 110 of the first, and 1,300 of the second, in Austria, for having aided the Hussites.'—*M.*

* On the Peace of Iglau, read Cox's *House of Austria*, vol. i. pt. i. ch. ii. p. 181. Very briefly, the Hussites obtained a more or less general amnesty, the use of the cup in the communion, and the confirmation of many of their privileges.

† Read Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cxvii. p. 223.

Reforms of the Emperor in Germany; he endeavours to bring the courts of justice under due restriction, to put an end to their abuses, and to modify the dreadful power of the secret tribunals of Westphalia. 'These had long been the disgrace of German jurisprudence.' *—C. His scheme of a division of the Empire into Circles (afterwards modified and improved by Maximilian I.), for the purpose of restoring peace to the Empire, and suppressing the right of private war.

Progress of the Turkish arms under Amurath, or Murad II., in Croatia, Hungary, 1437. Defeat of the Hungarians at Semendria; Hungary ravaged frightfully by the Turks; the Emperor marches against them, 1438, but effects nothing; both armies, decimated by disease, retreat. Death of the Emperor from the same cause, 1439.

Frederic III., Emperor, 1440. [Frederic was Duke of Styria, cousin to the late Emperor Albert II., and presumptive head of the Hapsburg House.] 'After the death of Sigismund, the Imperial crown returned for ever to the House of Austria, first in the person of Albert II. and then of Frederic III.; the latter possessed the title of Emperor above half a century, without either authority or reputation. Germany was without influence in Europe; but judicious foreigners began to discover the latent powers of that great body, when once roused into action by the necessity of its own defence.'—*G. M. W.* 'This Emperor, Frederic III., averse to great actions of every description, and a stranger to the passions of the human heart, nevertheless reigned for fifty-three years over Germany, during a period fraught with fate.'—*M.* The Emperor guardian to his nephew Ladislaus, posthumous son of the late Emperor, Albert II.

Decline of the Empire.† 'In Frederic III.'s reign, the Empire sank to its lowest point. Never after the Council of Basle (1431-1448), the last occasion on which the whole of Latin Christendom met to deliberate as a single commonwealth, and the last on which that commonwealth's lawful temporal head appeared in the exercise of his international functions, was the Holy Roman Emperor, in the eyes of Europe, anything more than a German monarch.'—*Br.*

SITTING OF THE COUNCIL OF BASLE,‡ from

* On the secret tribunals of Westphalia, generally known by the name of the 'Vehmgericht,' read Sir W. Scott's novel, *Anne of Geierstein*, ch. xx.

† Read Bryce's *Essay*, p. 118 *seqq.*, from which the subjoined extract is taken; and see extract in Appendix.

‡ Read, on the decrees of the Council of Basle, Milman's *Lat. Christ. bk. xiii. ch. xii. vol. vi. p. 264 seqq.*

1431-1448, the third great Council for the reformation of the Church. It abolishes annates, reservations, and other of the most glaring abuses of papal authority, and endeavours to put some check on the open immorality of the priests.

The decrees of the Council of Basle for the liberation of the Church adopted in Germany, 1439, by an Imperial Diet held

at Mayence. 'An able sovereign at this period, by taking advantage of the favourable disposition of the Council, might have produced a bloodless reformation in the Church; but the Imperial crown was on a slumberer's brow, Roman wiles were again triumphant, and the horrors of the Hussite war seemed scarcely to have left a trace.'—*M.* *The decrees of the*

Council of Basle nullified by the Concordat of Vienna, 1448,

'A separate concordat with the Emperor, brought about by the diplomacy and bribes of Æneas Sylvius, to which the princes gave their assent, not publicly in the Diet, but singly as they were gradually won over, and by which every resolution of the Council of Basle relating to the restriction of Papal abuses was simply retracted. Thus by an impious diplomacy were the people deceived, and thus was the warning voice of history, the great lesson taught by the Hussite war, despised.'—*M.*

War between the Emperor and some of the Swiss Cantons; the Emperor employs the services of French mercenaries, but effects nothing; * the Emperor is compelled to give up the young Prince Ladislaus, his nephew, who is elected King of Hungary and Bohemia. **Invasion of Hungary by the Turks**, who commit frightful ravages there and in the Duchy of Austria.

Expedition of the Emperor to Rome, where he is crowned by Pope Nicholas V., 1451. 'Imperial authority in Italy ended with the life of Henry VII. Rupert did indeed cross the Alps, but it was as the hireling of Florence; Frederic III. received the Lombard crown, but it no longer conveyed the smallest power.'—*Br.*

**Valiant RESISTANCE MAINTAINED AGAINST THE TURKS, IN HUNGARY, BY JOHN HUN-
NIADES**, natural son of the late Emperor Sigismund, who governs the country as vicar-general; victory of Nissa; battles of Varna and Kissova; he raises the siege of, and saves, Belgrade, winning a glorious victory; † after his death

* Read Bryce's *Essay*, p. 122.

† On the Turkish war, read Menzel, ch. clxxxviii. vol. ii. p. 190 *seqq.*, or Coxe, vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 175, Bohn's edit. 'This battle of Belgrade is worthy to rank with that of Tours, of Lepanto, and of Vienna in the contests between Mahometanism and Christianity.'—*J. G. L.*

his younger son, *MATTHIAS CORVINUS*, continues the war with great courage. After the death of Ladislaus, George von Podiebrad is created King of Bohemia by the Bohemians; he forms an alliance with Matthias Corvinus, who marries his daughter. 'The loss of both these kingdoms was peaceably submitted to by the Emperor, to whom Matthias had presented 60,000 ducats, while George aided him against his brother, Albert the Squanderer. The Austrian nobility treated the Emperor with insolence, and Albert intrigued against him.'—*M.*

Revolt of the citizens of Vienna against the Emperor; he is besieged by the citizens in his own castle there; the siege is raised by George von Podiebrad, who comes to the Emperor's aid, 1462.

War between the Emperor and George von Podiebrad, owing to the intrigues of the Pope, Pius II., and afterwards with Matthias Corvinus, of Hungary.* Frightful state of disorder, brigandage, and so forth, in Austria. The Emperor is driven from Austria into exile, by Matthias Corvinus; submits to a disgraceful peace.

Devastating inroads of the Turks continued, in the Austrian territories, under Mahomet II., 1469–1480. Crusade preached against them by the Pope, Nicholas V., Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II.), and Capistrano, general of the Franciscans; it fails to rouse the courage, though it stirred up the fanaticism and bigotry, of the people. 'Capistrano travelled through the greater part of Germany, endeavouring to rouse the military ardour of the people against the Turks; but the princes, instead of joining the crusade at his summons, contented themselves with praying and ringing the Turkish bells, as they were called. In Silesia, when preached against the Jews, every individual belonging to that helpless race was burnt alive.'—*M.*

Consolidation of the power of the Kingdom of Hungary, under Matthias Corvinus; he forms a standing army to resist the Turks; calls a yearly parliament at Pesth; agreement with the Emperor Frederic III., who gives up the throne, but retains the title of King of Hungary, 1463.

HORRIBLE WAR IN PRUSSIA, about this time,

* Read Coxe, vol. i. ch. xviii. p. 278 *seqq.*

BETWEEN THE TEUTONIC ORDER and the Provincial Nobles and cities of Prussia and Pomerania, who invite the aid of Poland, from about 1440-1466. The Confederation renounces its allegiance to the Order, and puts itself under the protection of Poland and its King, Casimir; the Order raises Bohemian mercenaries; **long and bloody war**, concluded by the **Peace of Thorn**, 1466, by which the *Grand Master*, completely deserted by his German allies, *cedes Western Prussia to Poland*, and agrees to hold *Eastern Prussia as a fief of the Polish Crown*. The Emperor favours first the Order, afterwards the Confederates, but does nothing. 'A war of thirteen years had transformed Prussia into a desert: 1,019 churches had been destroyed—those that remained standing, plundered and desecrated; out of 21,000 villages, but 3,013 remained, and, as if to render the misery complete, a dreadful pestilence broke out in 1463, which carried off 21,000 persons in Dantzig alone.'—*M.*

Great power of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, son of Philip the Good, at this time.* 'The House of Burgundy was descended from Philip the Hardy, fourth son of John, King of France.'—*C.* 'Charles was the richest and most powerful prince of Europe—the rival of Louis XI. of France.'—*O. C. T.*

Negotiations of the Emperor Frederic III. with Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, for the marriage of Maximilian, son of the Emperor, with Mary, only daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold; and treaty with Charles, 1473.

War between Charles the Bold and the Swiss in league with Louis XI. and France, 1474; Charles is defeated at Granson and Morat, and killed at Nancy, 1477; the Duchy of Burgundy seized by Louis XI. shortly afterwards. 'The revolution which restored Burgundy to the French monarchy merits more than common attention. Charles the Bold, of the House of France, Duke of Burgundy, and Sovereign of the Netherlands, was the natural and implacable enemy of Louis XI. His subjects of Burgundy were brave and loyal; those of Flanders, rich and industrious: his revenue was considerable, his court magnificent, his troops numerous and well disciplined, and his dominions enlarged by the acquisition of Guelders, Alsace, and Lorraine. But his vain projects of ambition were far superior either to his power or his abilities. At one and the same time he aspired to obtain the regal title, to be elected King of the Romans, to divide France with the English, to invade

* Read Coxe, vol. ii. ch. xviii. p. 251 *seqq.*, or Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cxxxix. p. 197 *seqq.* 'Charles the Bold may be compared to Pyrrhus of Epirus, and Charles XII. of Sweden.'—*J. G. L.*

Italy, and to lead a crusade against the Turks. The Swiss Cantons—a name till then unknown in Europe—humbled his pride. Many writers, more attentive to the moral precept than to historic truth, have represented the Swiss as a harmless people, attacked without justice or provocation. Those rude mountaineers were, on the contrary, the aggressors; and it appears by authentic documents, that French intrigues, and even French money, had found a way into the Senate of Berne. Louis XI., who in his youth had experienced the valour of the Swiss, inflamed the quarrel till it became irreconcilable, and then sat down the quiet spectator of the event. The gendarmerie of Burgundy was discomfited, in three great battles, by the firm battalions of Swiss infantry, composed of pikemen and musketeers. At Granson, Charles lost his honour and treasures; at Morat, the flower of his troops; and at Nancy, his life. He left only an orphan daughter, whose rich patrimony Louis perhaps may have secured by a treaty of marriage. Actuated by passion rather than sound policy, he chose to ravish it by conquest. Burgundy and Artois submitted without much difficulty; but the Flemings, exasperated by the memory of ancient injuries, disdained the French yoke, and married their young Princess Mary to Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic III. The Low Countries became the inheritance of the House of Austria, and the subject as well as theatre of a long series of wars, the most celebrated that have ever disturbed Europe.—*G. M. W.**

THE MARRIAGE OF MAXIMILIAN AND

MARY OF BURGUNDY, 1477. ‘Mary of Burgundy, anxious alike to escape the merciless grasp of this royal monster, and the rule of the wild democracy of Ghent, at first endeavoured to conciliate the Dutch by the promulgation of the Great Charter, in which she vowed neither to marry, nor levy taxes, nor to make war, without their consent. In hope of gaining a greater accession of power by a foreign marriage, she skilfully worked upon the dread with which the French were viewed by her subjects, to influence them in favour of Maximilian, the handsomest youth of his day, whom she is said to have seen at an earlier period at Trèves, or, as some say, of whose picture she had become enamoured. Maximilian inherited the physical strength of his grandmother, Cimbura of Poland, and the mental qualities of his Portuguese mother; surpassed all other knights in chivalric feats; was modest, gentle, and amiable. Mary confessed to the assembled States of the Netherlands that she had already exchanged letters and rings with him, and the marriage was resolved upon. Maximilian hastened to Ghent, and, clothed in silver armour, with his long blond locks crowned with a bridegroom’s wreath resplendent with precious stones, rode into the city, where he was met by Mary. The youthful pair, on beholding one another, knelt in the public street, and sank into each other’s arms. “Welcome art thou to me, thou noble German,” said the young duchess, “whom I have so long desired and now behold with delight.”—*M.*

Great importance of this marriage in the history of Germany and Europe generally.

‘The marriage of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, daughter and sole heiress of Charles the Bold, with Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, conveying all the dominions of Burgundy to Maximilian and his heirs, established a great independent sovereign on the frontiers of France, giving to him, on the north, not only the present kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, but large portions of what is now French

* ‘Scott’s novel of *Quentin Durward*, though not accurate in detail, gives a truthful and picturesque account of the spirit of the times.’—*J. G. L.*

territory—the old provinces of Artois and French Flanders, French Hainault, and French Luxembourg; while on the east it gave him Franche Comté, thus yielding him a footing within the Jura, on the very banks of the Saône. Thence ensued, in after ages, when the Spanish branch of the House of Austria had inherited this part of its dominions, the long contests which deluged the Netherlands with blood, the campaigns of King William and Luxembourg, the nine years of efforts, no less skilful than valiant, in which Marlborough broke his way through the fortresses of the iron frontier. Again, when Spain became in a manner French by the accession of the House of Bourbon, the Netherlands reverted once more to Austria itself; and from thence the powers of Europe advanced almost in our own days to assail France as a republic; and on this ground, on the plains of Fleurus, was won the first of those great victories which for nearly twenty years carried the French standard triumphantly over Europe. Thus the marriage recorded by Comines has been working busily down to our very own times; it is only since the settlement of 1814, and that more recent one of 1830, that the Netherlands have ceased to be affected by the union of Charles the Bold's daughter with Maximilian of Austria.—*Arn. Lect.*

The Invasion of the Turks in Hungary, Austria, Bosnia, Carniola, and Carinthia, continued. 'In the short space of twenty-seven years, during the reign of Frederic, the country was twelve times visited by this dreadful scourge, and twelve times marked by similar scenes of desolation, carnage, and horror.'—*C.*

Untimely death of Mary of Burgundy, wife of Maximilian, 1482, leaving two infants, Philip and Margaret. The Emperor Frederic procures the election of Maximilian as King of the Romans, securing thereby to him the reversion of the Imperial crown, 1486.

War between France and Maximilian; insurrections and troubles in Flanders fomented by Charles VIII., King of France; insurrection of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges; seizure and confinement of Maximilian by the mob in Bruges; courageous and dignified behaviour of the King during the perilous captivity, 1488; he is released on the advance of the Emperor Frederic with a German army. 'The terms of his release being arranged, Maximilian was liberated. He displayed no sign of anger or resentment for the mortifications he had endured; but, with a cheerful countenance and an affable deportment, repaired to the church, and, after offering up his thanksgivings, exclaimed to the bystanders, "We are now at peace."—*C.* Peace with France, 1489.

War between the Emperor and Ladislaus (King of Bohemia), who is elected by the Hungarians King of Hungary on the death of Matthias, 1490; courage and spirit displayed by Maximilian, who regains the Austrian territories con-

quered by Matthias, and the preservation of the title of King of Hungary to the Emperor and himself. Peace with Ladislaus. Maximilian's intended marriage with Anne of Brittany is prevented by the intrigues of France and Charles VIII. Fresh war with France. Maximilian enters into an alliance with Henry VII. of England, and Ferdinand, King of Arragon, against France; concludes an honourable and advantageous *peace at Senlis*; 1492.

Endeavours of the Emperor to establish a *regular system of levying the Contingents of the Empire*; he forms *THE SUABIAN LEAGUE*, for the purpose of extirpating the strongholds of the banditti; consolidating, as far as is possible, the strength of the Empire; forming a counterpoise to the Hanseatic League and the League of the commercial cities on the Rhine; as well as humbling the powerful House of Bavaria, 1485.

Death of the Emperor, at the age of seventy-eight, in retirement at Lintz, after resigning the administration of affairs throughout the Empire to Maximilian, 1493.*

Maximilian I., Emperor, 1493. 'To an aged, feeble, and parsimonious sovereign, succeeded an active and liberal prince, in the prime of manhood, whose character and situation encouraged the hope of a glorious administration. His reign forms a new Epoch in the history of his family, as from that period the House of Austria embraced a larger sphere of action, and no longer confined its efforts to Hungary, the Empire, and Switzerland.'
—C.

IMPORTANCE OF THE AGE OF MAXIMILIAN,
marked by the increasing change wrought by the progress of the art of Printing, the introduction of Gunpowder into war, the substitution of Drilled Troops for the Feudal Militia, and the Discovery of America.†

* Read the fine character of Frederic III. in Coxe, vol. i. ch. xix. p. 311. His famous and favourite anagram on the vowels of the alphabet is there given.

† In all that concerns 'the character of the Epoch of Maximilian,' I have to acknowledge my great obligations to Bryce, *Essay*, p. 124 *seqq.* Read also on the state of Europe at the accession of Maximilian, and the effects of the invention of gunpowder and the art of printing, Coxe, vol. i. ch. xx. p. 340 *seqq.*; and Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ch. v. vol. ii. p. 94 of the 3 vol. edition.

**COMMENCEMENT OF THE REAL POWER
AND PREPONDERATING INFLUENCE OF THE
HAPSBURG FAMILY IN GERMANY.**

'Just as under Otho and his successors the Roman Empire was Teutonised, so now under the Hapsburg dynasty, from whose hands the Empire departed only once thenceforth, the Teutonic Empire tends more and more to lose itself in an Austrian monarchy. Of this monarchy, and of the power of the House of Hapsburg, Maximilian was even more than Rudolf, his ancestor, the founder. Uniting in his person those wide domains through Germany which had been dispersed among the collateral branches of his house, and claiming by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy most of the territories of Charles the Bold, he was a prince greater than any who had sat on the Teutonic throne since the death of Frederic II. But it was as Archduke of Austria, Count of Tyrol, Duke of Styria and Carinthia, feudal superior of lands in Suabia, Alsace, and Switzerland, that he was great, not as Roman Emperor. For just as from him the Austrian monarchy begins, so with him the Holy Empire, in its old meaning, ends. That strange system of doctrines, half religious half political, which had supported it so long, was growing obsolete, and the theory which had wrought such changes in Germany and Europe, passed ere long so completely from remembrance that we can now do no more than call up a faint and wavering image of what it must once have been.'—*Br.*

Second marriage of the Emperor Maximilian with Bianca Maria Sforza, the rich sister of John Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, after driving the Turks out of Styria and Carinthia, 1494. Philip, son of the Emperor, Regent for his father in the Low Countries; suppresses the revolt in Guelderland.

*Expedition of Charles VIII., King of France, into Italy,** 1494; the commencement of the French aggressions in Italy; marches through the country; enters Rome and Naples in triumph, 1495, but is compelled to evacuate the country and return, with the loss of the greater part of his army; league formed against him by the Emperor, the Pope, the King of Arragon, and the cities of Milan and Florence.

Great Diet of the Empire held at Worms by the Emperor, who attempts to reform the Germanic Constitution; ordinances passed to establish a public peace, and institute an Imperial Chamber † (the forerunner of 'the Aulic Chamber' of later

* 'This expedition is usually considered to mark the close of the Middle Ages.'—*J. G. L.* It is so viewed by Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. v. vol. ii. p. 94.

† Read particularly Hallam's *Middle Ages*, ch. v. vol. ii. p. 95. The whole of the chapter is extremely interesting.

times), in order to take cognisance of legal matters and make the administration of justice by permanent Imperial officials uniform throughout the country; attempts to establish a *regular system of Taxation* (the payment of 'the Common Penny'), and promote the maintenance of order by the *division of the Empire into ten Circles*, each of which was to form a league similar to the Suabian League. 'At the Diet held at Worms, Maximilian zealously laboured to increase the external power of the Empire, by promoting its internal union, order, and peace; but only succeeded in rendering the confusion systematic, the absurdities hitherto unrecognised by law legal, and the external weakness and internal anarchy of the Empire eternal. The Empire was one confused mass of electorates, duchies, earldoms, bishoprics, abbeys, imperial free towns and estates of the nobility, which, whether great or small, refused to yield to one another, and jealously asserted their independence. None possessed sufficient power to maintain order by force, or sufficient confidence to intrust that power to another.'—*M. The Empire poverty-stricken*; the taxes imposed to furnish and pay soldiers against the Turks and the French in Italy, granted by the Diet, but never paid.

Fruitless expedition of the Emperor into Italy.* 'Instead of appearing at the head of 9,000 men, he is only able to send 3,000 to join the army of the allies.'—*C.* Charles VIII. retires from Italy as rapidly as he entered it; the French garrisons are expelled from their strongholds by Ferdinand, assisted by a Spanish force under the great Captain Gonsalvo de Cordova, 1495. Marriage of the Emperor's son Philip with Juanna of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, '*los dos reyes Catolicos*.' 'The prosperity of Ferdinand and Isabella was embittered by the death of their only son. Their daughter Juanna married the Archduke Philip (son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy), and the great successions of the Houses of Austria, of Arragon, and of Castile, were gradually accumulated on the head of Charles V., the fortunate offspring of that marriage.'—*G. M. W.*

War between the Empire and the Swiss Confederation, 1498; successes of the Swiss over the Imperial forces.

Final separation of Switzerland from the Empire, 1499. 'Maximilian tried to reconquer the Swiss, but after a furious struggle, in which the valleys of Western Tyrol were repeatedly laid waste by the peasants of the Engadin, he was forced to give way, and in A.D. 1500

* 'The Swiss employed as hired troops: they play a conspicuous part in the wars of Italy.'—*J. G. L.*

recognised them by treaty as practically independent.'—*Br.* Fruitless attempts of the Emperor to raise a crusade against the Turks; he endeavours to obtain the Regency of Castile, on the death of Philip, his son (the Regent of Castile), and the insanity of Juanna; Ferdinand, King of Arragon, obtains the Regency from the Cortes for his grandson, Charles (afterwards Charles V.). Death of Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia), and election of Julius II. 'The warlike and intriguing spirit of this Pope, who forsook the character of a prelate for that of a temporal prince, gave a fatal blow to the already tottering spiritual power of the Papacy, and paved the way for the Reformation. He reunited the Papal territories by force of arms, personally heading his troops, and formed in 1508 the League of Cambray against Venice: he excommunicated the republic, which appealed to a General Council.'—*O. C. Z.* War between Milan and Venice, during which the Emperor, at the head of a small force, enters Italy on his way to Rome in order to take possession of Milan and to be crowned by the Pope, Julius II., and to aid him against the threatened invasion of the French under Louis XII.: he is refused a passage by the Venetians, who oppose him with superior forces, defeat his troops in his absence in the Friuli, and compel him to return; the Venetians take Trieste and Fiume. *The Emperor*, unable to reach Rome, *is crowned* by the Archbishop of Salzburg at *Trent*, in the name of the Pope, 1508, and assumes the title of '*Imperator Electus*.' 'This title, which Maximilian obtains leave from Julius II. to assume, marks the severance of Germany from Rome. No subsequent Emperor received his crown in the ancient capital (Charles V. was indeed crowned by the Pope's hands, but it was at Bologna, and so of at least questionable validity); each assumed after his German coronation the title of "*Emperor Elect*," and employed this in all documents issued in his name. To this Maximilian appended "*Germaniae Rex*," or, adding Frederic II.'s bequest, "*König in Germanien und Jerusalem*." Out of the title "*King of Germany*" and that of "*Emperor*," European usage formed the phrase "*German Emperor*," or, more incorrectly, "*Emperor of Germany*."—*Br.*

Maximilian joins the **League of Cambray, 1508.*** 'The Emperor, the King of France, the King of Aragon, and the Pope (Julius II.), were principals in the League of Cambray, to which almost all the princes of Italy acceded, the least considerable of them hoping for some share in the spoils of a State which they deemed to be now devoted to destruction. . . . The Venetians, surrounded by so many enemies, and left without one

* Read, on the League of Cambray, its formation, and the causes of its dissolution, Coxe, vol. i. ch. xxiv. p. 348 *seqq.*

ally, sank from the height of presumption to the depths of despair, abandoned all their territories on the continent, and shut themselves up in their capital, as their last refuge, and the only place which they hoped to preserve.—*P. R.*

Commencement about this time of the first conscious feeling of **German Nationality, as distinct from Imperial.** 'Driven in on all sides, with Italy and the Slavic lands, and the Arelat hopelessly lost, Teutschland* learnt to separate itself from Welschland. The Empire became the representative of a narrower but more practicable national union. It is not a mere coincidence that at this date there appear several notable changes of style. "*Nationis Teutonice*" (*Teutscher Nation*) is added to the simple "*sacrum imperium Romanum*."—*Br.*

Successes of the Imperial and Papal forces against the Venetians; imminent danger of the Republic of Venice; it is saved by the defection of the Pope; Maximilian makes an expedition into Italy; endeavours to summon a General Council, and is said to have 'formed a wild and romantic project to resign the Empire to his grandson, and to obtain the Papacy on the meditated deposition of Julius II.'—*C.* 1511. Maximilian joins the *Holy League* against France; ceaseless intrigues, wars, and alliances, *pro* and *con*, between the Emperor, the King of France, the Swiss, the Pope, and the Venetians, and the English, during which Maximilian serves as a volunteer in the English army of Henry VIII., and helps to defeat the French at Guinegate, also called 'the Battle of the Spurs,' 1513. The Emperor's gallant but useless feats of arms; his enterprises crippled from want of money: finally, he is deserted by his Swiss mercenaries, and his cause abandoned by his grandson Charles. 'It was the fate of Maximilian to fail in all his foreign enterprises, even when he seemed most secure of success.'—*C.*

Peace concluded with France, 1516. 'The levity of Maximilian engaged him in perpetual wars and treaties, which commonly ended in his disappointment and confusion. However, he may be considered as the founder of the Austrian greatness by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, and as the founder of the public law by his useful institutions of the circles and of the Imperial Chamber.'—*G. M. W.*

Useful Reforms carried out by the Emperor in the hereditary States, afterwards extended to other parts of the Empire, by establishing various boards or colleges for the administration of justice, the management of the revenue, the direction

* On the derivation of this name, *Teutschland*, or *Deutschland*, see Appendix.

of the ordnance, the buildings, and the rights of the Sovereign: over all these was the Aulic Council.* 'The active part Maximilian took in the transactions of the Empire and of Europe has caused historians almost to pass over in silence those of his own hereditary dominions. But their very silence proves the vigour and wisdom of his administration; for it evinces that his States were relieved from those troubles which mark the reigns of all his predecessors, and all his provinces exempted from the calamities of war, except those which were exposed to the attacks of the Venetians.'—C.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION;

Dr. Tetzel, in Germany, selling indulgences to the people. The preaching of **MARTIN LUTHER**;† he affixes his celebrated Thesis to the door of the castle-church of Wittenberg, **October 31st,† 1517**, about a year and a quarter before the death of the Emperor. 'This thesis or subject of disputation contained ninety-five propositions, in which, without directly attacking indulgences or the power of the Church, he asserted their total inutility, and the necessity of faith, contrition, and repentance for obtaining pardon of sins. He concluded this challenge with condemning several propositions which he attributed to his adversaries, and inserting several contemptuous questions, which did not spare either the conduct or person of the Pope.'—C.

Unsuccessful attempt of the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg to raise a crusade against the Turks, and to secure the election of his grandson Charles as King of the Romans, 1518.

Luther summoned by the Pope, Leo X., to appear at Rome within sixty days to defend himself on the charge of heresy, 1518. Maximilian's letter to the Pope, stigmatising the principles of Luther as heretical. 'From the favourable opinion he had at first entertained of Luther and of his spirit and acuteness, the Emperor was, in the progress of the dispute, gradually drawn, and either from conviction, from pique against Frederic of Saxony for opposing the election of his grandson, or from a desire of conciliating the Pope, was induced to interfere in the controversy.'—C.

Luther is summoned by the Legate Cardinal

* Read on the *Aulic Council*, the extract from the Introduction to Robertson's *Charles V.*, prefixed to this work.

† Read ch. cxii. in Menzel, vol. ii. p. 218 *seqq.*, and Coxe, vol. i. ch. xxv. p. 385 *seqq.* The two fine articles on Luther in the *Edinb. Rev.* by Rogers and Sir James Stephen, republished in their *Essays*, are well known. Extracts are given of them in the Appendix. Read also a charming Lecture, by Stanley, on the Reformation, in a volume published by the Rev. J. H. Gurney, called *Evening Recreations* (Longman & Co.).

† According to some, on All Saints' Day, Nov. 1st.

Cajetan, on the injunction of Pope Leo X., to appear before the **Diet of Augsburg, 1519**; he defends his opinions; is supported by Frederic the Wise, Elector of Saxony, and appeals 'from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better-informed.' Bull issued by the Pope, 'asserting the efficacy of indulgences, and excommunicating all who held or taught a contrary opinion.'

Death of the Emperor Maximilian, 1519.* 'At this critical moment, before the Papal Bull could be presented to him, the Emperor died. The government devolved on the Elector of Saxony, as vicar of the Empire; the proceedings against the great Reformer were thus suspended, and he was enabled to improve his knowledge of the Scriptures in silence and in safety, to propagate his opinions, and to prepare himself for the coming hostilities.'—C.

CHARLES V., grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, Governor of the Low Countries at the age of sixteen, King of Spain on the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, 1516, recognised as King by the Cortes of Arragon, 1517, and by the Cortes of Castile, 1518, unanimously elected **EMPEROR**, June 28, 1519, against several competitors, among whom were the Kings of France and England, after that the Elector of Saxony, Frederic the Wise, had declined the Imperial crown. 'After an election more memorable than any preceding—an election in which Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England had been his competitors—a prince ascended the Imperial throne who united dominions vaster than any Europe had seen since the days of his great namesake. Spain and Naples, Flanders and other parts of the Burgundian lands, as well as large regions in Eastern Germany, obeyed Charles; he drew inexhaustible revenues from a new Empire beyond the Atlantic. . . . Though, from the coldness of his manner and his Flemish speech, never a favourite among the Germans, Charles V. was in point of fact far stronger than Maximilian or any other Emperor who had reigned for three centuries. In Italy he was supreme; England he knew how to lead, by flattering Henry and cajoling Wolsey; from no State but France had he serious opposition to fear. To this strength his Imperial dignity was indeed a mere accident: its sources were the infantry of Spain, the looms of Flanders, the sierras of Peru.'—Br.

Chronological Summary of the principal events in the reign of Charles V. Regent in Flanders for his grandfather Maximilian, 1515; assumes the title of King of

* For a very fine character of this Emperor, read Coxe, vol. i. ch. xxv. p. 392 *seqq.*

Castile and Arragon on the death of Ferdinand (Ximenes Regent); treaty at Noyen with France (the conditions of which, such as the marriage of Charles to Louise, eldest daughter of Francis I., were never fulfilled, though 'the alliance united Charles and Francis for a time, and put an end to the bloody and tedious war that the League of Cambray had occasioned, and gave Europe a few years of universal tranquillity'), 1516; visits Spain, 1517-1520; his recognition as King while there, and election as Emperor; returns to the Low Countries; visits Henry VIII. at Dover, 1520. Summons the Diet of Worms, 1521; gives Luther a safe-conduct, but after allowing him to depart in safety, puts him under the ban of the Empire. First War with Francis I. of France, 1521-1526 (including the Battle of Pavia, 1525). [There were in all five distinct wars: Second war with France, 1527, and storm and sack of Rome;* third war with France, 1536; fourth war with France, 1542; fifth war with France, 1552.] Grants the Island of Malta to the Knights of St. John on their expulsion from Rhodes by Solyman the Magnificent, 1522; visits Spain again, and pacifies the insurrection and establishes tranquillity there, 1522; remains there till 1528; secret league with the Constable Bourbon during the first war with France, 1523; sets Francis I. at liberty, after a year and twenty-two days' captivity, 1526; marries Isabella of Portugal, and quells the insurrection of the peasantry in Suabia, Saxony, and Thuringia, 1526; agrees to set the Pope Clement VII. free, for a ransom, from his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo (the Pope escapes the previous night), 1527; is crowned King of Lombardy and Emperor of the Romans by the Pope Clement VII. at Bologna; summons the Diet of Spires—the name of Protestants first applied to the Lutherans, 1529; he summons

* Read the fine chorus in Byron's drama, *The Deformed Transformed*, beginning, 'Tis the morn; but dark and dim, &c.

the Diet of Augsburg; severe decree of the Emperor against the Protestants; the Confession of Augsburg, and League of Smalkald, 1530. Raises a vast army to oppose Solyman, who had invaded Hungary at the head of 300,000 men; takes the command in person, and forces Solyman to retire, 1532. Visits Italy, and negotiates with the Pope Clement VII. concerning holding a General Council; enters into a league with the Pope and all the Italian States to secure the peace of Italy against the French and 'all invaders,' and crosses from Italy into Spain, 1533. Insurrection of the Anabaptists in Germany, 1534; their head-quarters Münster in Westphalia; their excesses, frantic enthusiasm, and defence of Münster against the forces of the Empire assembled in the Emperor's absence by his brother Ferdinand (entitled King of the Romans, and afterwards King of Spain) and the Bishop of Münster; the town stormed, and the insurrection quelled, 1535. During this time the Emperor invades Africa, lands near Tunis, takes the Goletta, and seizes Barbarossa's fleet; defeats Barbarossa, takes Tunis, and liberates 20,000 Christian captives. **The Emperor at the height of his glory**, 1535; invades France, enters Provence, ineffectually besieges Marseilles and Arles, is forced to retreat in a disastrous manner and with a shattered army, 1536; concludes truce for ten years with France, 1538; passes from Spain through France, by permission of Francis I., and quells the revolt of Ghent with great severity, 1540; refuses most dishonourably to fulfil his engagements to Francis I., and to grant him or one of his children the investiture of the Milanese, 1540. Decrees a conference between the Lutheran and Romanist divines at the Diet of Ratisbon; its '*Recess*,' or final sentence to refer the points of controversy to a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod of Germany, 1541. Leads an unfortunate expedition to Algiers; a large part of his armament is destroyed by a storm, and the Emperor nearly lost; is forced to re-embark

with the remnant of his forces, after showing the greatest courage and patience during his retreat from Algiers to Cape Metafuz, 1541. Concludes a league with Henry VIII. of England for a joint invasion of France, and devastates the Duchy of Cleves, while Solyman the Magnificent and Barbarossa, in alliance with Francis I. of France, ravage Hungary, of which the Turks are virtually the masters, defeating the Austrians at Esseg, besieging Corfu, devastating the coast of Italy and besieging Nice, 1543. Courts the favour of the Protestants at the Diet of Spires, to whom he promises concessions in order to obtain their support in a war against France; invades Champagne, in alliance with Henry VIII., and besieges and takes St. Dizier, and advances into the heart of France, but concludes an advantageous separate peace at Crespy, near Meaux; a secret article in it of agreement with Francis to exterminate heresy, i. e. Protestantism, out of their dominions, 1544. The Emperor calls the Diet of Worms; religious disputes; the Council of Trent meets (it had been summoned in 1542), under Pope Paul III. (*Farnese*); the Protestants reject all intercourse with the Council, and refuse the Imperial demands with regard to the Turkish war, 1545. The Emperor continues to attempt to deceive the Protestants; makes a league with the Pope, binding himself to extirpate heresy, i. e. Protestantism, by force of arms; concludes a truce with Solyman; the Emperor endeavours to conceal his intentions from the Protestants, who make preparations for their own defence; the Pope (Paul III.) disconcerts the Emperor's schemes by publishing a bull promising indulgence to all who took part in this holy war; the Protestants levy an army, solicit aid from the Venetians, Francis I., and Henry VIII.; are laid under the ban of the Empire; declare war: the Emperor awaits in Ratisbon the arrival of the Papal forces and his Flemish troops, 1546; death of Luther in same year. War between the Emperor and the Protestant

confederates, also called the Smalkaldian War, from 1546-1555, terminated by the Peace of Augsburg. [See below for the principal events of this war.] The Emperor resigns the interior administration of Germany to his brother Ferdinand, and shortly afterwards resigns his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, 1555; a few weeks after abdicates the Spanish throne in his favour, with all the territories depending on it both in the Old and New World, reserving himself only a pension, and abdicates the Imperial throne in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and sets out for Spain, 1556; the Emperor retires to the Monastery of St. Justus (*Yuste*), in Estramadura; celebrates his own funeral there, and dies, 1558. 'Charles V., who succeeded Ferdinand in 1516, governed Spain for forty years, and the general character of his administration was the same as that of his predecessors. In regard to his foreign policy, his three principal wars were against France, against the German princes, and against Turkey. Of these, the first was secular, but the two last were essentially religious. In the German war, he defended the Church against innovation; and at the battle of Mühlberg he so completely humbled the Protestant princes as to retard for some time the progress of the Reformation. In his other great war, he, as the champion of Christianity against Mohammedanism, consummated what his grandfather, Ferdinand, had begun. Charles defeated and dislodged the Mohammedans in the east, just as Ferdinand had done in the west; the repulse of the Turks before Vienna being to the sixteenth century what the conquest of the Arabs of Granada was to the fifteenth. It was, therefore, with reason that Charles, at the close of his career, could boast that he had always preferred his creed to his country, and that the first object of his ambition had been to maintain the interests of Christianity. The zeal with which he struggled for the faith also appears in his exertions against heresy in the Low Countries. According to contemporary and competent authorities, from 50,000 to 100,000 persons were put to death in the Netherlands during his reign on account of their religious opinions. Later inquirers have doubted the accuracy of this statement, which is probably exaggerated; but we know that between 1520 and 1550 he published a series of laws to the effect that those who were convicted of heresy should be beheaded, or burned alive, or buried alive. The penalties were thus various, to meet the circumstances of each case. Capital punishment, however, was always to be inflicted on whoever bought an heretical book, or sold it, or even copied it for his own use. His last advice to his son well accorded with these measures. Only a few days before his death he signed a codicil to his will, recommending that no favour should ever be shown to heretics; that they should be all put to death; and that care should be taken to uphold the Inquisition, as the best means of accomplishing so desirable an end.

'This barbarous policy is to be ascribed, not to the vices, nor to the temperament of the individual ruler, but to the operation of large general causes, which acted upon the individual, and impelled him to the course he pursued. Charles was by no means a vindictive man; his natural disposition was to mercy rather than to rigour; his sincerity is unquestionable; he performed what he believed to be his duty; and he was so kind a friend

that those who knew him best were precisely those who loved him most. Little, however, could all that avail in shaping his public conduct. He was obliged to obey the tendencies of the age and country in which he lived. And what those tendencies were appeared still more clearly after his death, when the throne of Spain was occupied upwards of forty years by a prince who inherited it in the prime of life, and whose reign is particularly interesting as a symptom and a consequence of the disposition of the people over whom he ruled.—B.

The **most prominent features** in the eventful reign of the **EMPEROR CHARLES V.** were:—

The First War with Francis I., 1521–1526, owing to the refusal of Francis I. to restore the Duchy of Burgundy (taken from the Empire by Louis XI.), and the refusal of Charles V. to restore the Kingdom of Navarre, conquered from France by Ferdinand the Catholic—including the loss of Milan by the French; the desertion of the Constable Bourbon, the death of Chevalier Bayard,* and the battle of Pavia, and the capture of Francis I.†

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION,—

'the second Great Convulsion of Modern History, making a division in the fortunes of Europe deeper than any other since the fall of the Roman Empire; brought about, like that first great Revolution, by the Northern or German nations—not, as in the earlier instance, by an outward invasion of barbarian tribes, but by an inward rising of the human mind and conscience, and in its outward effects hardly less strongly marked on the whole surface of society. . . . It has indeed placed a barrier between us and the ages that went before; and, remarking how violent the shock must have been; remembering the vast mass of ancient associations, feelings, practices, institutions, which were utterly swept away, not only in the Protestant, but in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe; remembering the panic, the perplexity, the chaos which must have resulted,—it is of the greatest comfort to us to reflect that, great as this shock was, the most civilised part of Europe now looks back to it as the most blessed event which has taken place since the introduction of Christianity.'—A. P. S.

Including, among its most prominent events, the Diet of Worms, and the appearance of Martin Luther there,‡ 1521; the Peasants' War, 1525 and 1526; the Diet of Spires, and origin of the name of Protestant, 1529; the

* Read the extract from Bonnechese, *Hist. of France*, given in my *Analysis of English and French Hist.* p. 93 of the sixth edit.

† Read the extract from Sir Francis Palgrave's article from *Quart. Review*, given in my *Analysis of English and French Hist.*, on the apocryphal sentence, '*tout est perdu fors l'honneur*;' and, on the battle of Pavia, read extract from Robertson in Appendix to this work.

‡ On Luther at Worms, read the graphic extract from Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship*, given in the Appendix.

Diet of Augsburg, and 'the **Confession of Augsburg**,' drawn up by Melancthon, and signed by the Protestant princes and deputies from the Protestant cities, 1530. The Smalkaldian War, or War of the Protestant League entered into at Smalkald; the principal leaders in which were Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, and after his death his brother John, also Elector of Saxony; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; the Duke of Württemberg; the Princes of Anhalt, and the Imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg (afterwards joined by Duke Maurice of Saxony): the battle of Mühlberg, 1547; the siege of Magdeburg; the articles, or system of doctrines, known by the name of the *Interim*,* 1548, issued by the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg; the defection of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, 1551; the flight of the Emperor from Innspruck; the Convention of Passau (allowing the free exercise of their religion to the Protestants till a General Diet should be assembled), 1552; the victory and death of Maurice at Sieverhausen, the re-assembly of the Diet of Augsburg, and the ratification of 'the *Religious Peace of Augsburg*,' 1555,—granting (a nominal) Toleration to the Protestants who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg, but excluding the followers of Zuinglius and of Calvin, and extending the benefits of the pacification to the Romanists; coupled with the "Reservatum Ecclesiasticum," preserving to the Catholic Church the benefices of such ecclesiastics as might hereafter become Protestants.'—O. C. T. 'This peace was naturally a mere political agreement provisionally entered into by the princes, for the benefit, not of religion, but of themselves. . . . By this treaty, branded in history as the most lawless ever concerted in Germany, the principle "cujus regio, ejus religio"—the faith of the prince must be that of the people, was laid down. By it not only the reformed subjects of a Catholic prince were exposed to the utmost cruelty and tyranny, but the religion of each separate country was rendered dependent on the caprice of the reigning prince: of this, the Pfalz offered a sad example, the religion of the people being thus four times arbitrarily changed. Freedom of belief, confined to the immediate subjects of the Empire—for instance, to the reigning princes, the free nobility, and the city councillors—was monopolised by, at most, 20,000 privileged persons, including the whole of the impoverished nobility and the oligarchies of the most insignificant Imperial free towns. . . . The ecclesiastical princes, to the great prejudice of the Reformation, did not participate in this privilege. By the ecclesiastical proviso, they were, it is true, personally permitted to change their religion, but incurred thereby the deprivation of their dignities and possessions.'—M.

* Read Robertson's *Charles V.* bk. ix. vol. iii. p. 447.

The Second War with Francis I., 1527-1529, remarkable for the storm and sack of Rome by the troops of the Bourbon.

'The black bands came over
The Alps and the snow;
With Bourbon the rover,
They crossed the broad Po.'—*Byron*.

the conquest of Naples by the French; and the Peace of Cambray, also called 'the Ladies' Peace.'*

The Turkish War, continued almost without intermission during the whole of this reign; ravages and desolation of Hungary, of which they make themselves almost totally masters, after the fatal battle of Mohacs, 1526, in which Louis, last King of Hungary, is slain.

The Expedition against Tunis, 1535, as successful as that against Algiers, 1541, was unsuccessful.†

The Council of Trent,‡ 1545-1563. 'The last General Council, not acknowledged by the Protestants, anathematizes most of the Lutheran doctrines; declares the Apocrypha of equal authority with the rest of the Scriptures, and confirms most of the abuses which had crept into the Church;—its decrees received in the Catholic portion of Germany, in Poland, and in Italy, but not in Hungary or France, and only partially in Spain and Portugal. Instead of reuniting the Christian world, its decrees have proved an insuperable line of demarcation between the Catholics and Protestants.'—*O. C. T.*

The Abdication of the Emperor,§ 1555 and 1556. The government is carried on in his name till his death, in 1558.

Ferdinand I., brother to Charles V., and King of Bohemia and Hungary (by his marriage with Anne, daughter of Louis II., last King of Bohemia and Hungary), and titular King of the Romans (in 1531), elected **Emperor**, 1558. 'The crown of Spain, the Netherlands, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, the recently-discovered West India Islands, the colonies on the North Coast of Africa, the Canary Islands, the provinces of Utrecht, Oberyssel, and

* As having been negotiated by Francis I.'s mother, Louisa, and Margaret of Austria, aunt to the Emperor Charles V.

† Read extract from Prescott's edit. of Robertson's *Charles V.*, in Appendix.

‡ For a short and clear account of the Council of Trent, read the article in Hook's *Church Dictionary*. For more, read Coxe, Menzel, or D'Aubigné's *Hist. of the Reformation*.

§ Read the extract from Robertson, given in the Appendix; and the fine sketch of his character in the same work, vol. iv, bk. xii. p. 286 *seqq.* Read also the remarks on his death, character, and family, in Coxe, vol. i. ch. xxxii. p. 483 *seqq.*

Grüningen, the rich transatlantic countries of Mexico, Peru, Chili, Quito, and New Grenada,—the whole of this enormous mass of territory, the Emperor Charles V. delivered over in 1556 to his only son Philip, afterwards Philip II. of Spain.—*P.* ‘Charles V. would willingly have resigned the crown of the Empire to his son Philip, had not the Spanish education of that prince, his gloomy and bigoted character, inspired the Germans with an aversion as unconquerable as that with which he beheld them. Ferdinand had, moreover, gained the favour of the German princes.’—*M.*

The reaction in favour of Roman-Catholicism begins.

Power of the Jesuits in Germany; their influence; and preponderance of the Spaniards. The Emperor opposed in his hereditary provinces by a predominating Protestant party, and politically overbalanced by his nephew, Philip II., in Spain and Italy, where Catholicism flourished; pernicious influence exercised thereby on the whole of Germany; Catholics thereby supported; reconciliation rendered impossible, and admission gained for the Spaniards and Italians into Germany.

The Turkish War and the devastation of Hungary still go on, till 1562, when a truce for eight years is concluded with Sultan Solymán* the Magnificent, the Emperor agreeing to become a vassal of the Porte; Solymán, however, infringes the treaty, conquers Carniola and Transylvania, and dies at a later period, in the reign of Maximilian II., before the walls of Sigeth, gallantly defended by the Hungarian Nicolas Zriny.†

The Emperor effects a revolution in the government of Bohemia, changing it from an elective to an hereditary monarchy, and quells the insurrection at Prague by severe measures.

Efforts of the Emperor to reunite the Catholic and Protestant parties; tacit toleration of the Protestants, whom he endeavours to conciliate: all his attempts to heal the schism in the Church fail.

* This Sultan was the builder of the magnificent Suleimanyeh Mosque, at Constantinople—perhaps the most beautiful mosque in the world; after that of Omar (so called), in Jerusalem. For a sketch of his eventful reign, and his two campaigns in Hungary, read *Hist. of the Ottoman Empire*, by Jacob, Procter, &c., republished from the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, ch. xii. pp. 349–357. Cabinet edit. by Griffin & Co.

† After this period the Turkish power begins to decline.—*J. G. L.*

Maximilian II. (son of Ferdinand II.), **Emperor, 1564.**

'A mild and sagacious prince.'—*P.* 'He remained, indeed, himself within the pale of the Church, but never swerved from the most liberal toleration.'—*C.* 'The Emperor, previous to his accession, had gained great popularity in Germany, by his inclination to favour the Lutherans; but, unstable in character, he committed the fault of granting religious liberty to his subjects without embracing Lutheranism himself, and consequently exposed them to the most fearful persecution under his successor.'—*M.*

The Empire externally at peace; fresh peace for eight years with the Turks, 1568.

Unceasing dissensions between the Catholic and Protestant princes, and between the Lutherans and Calvinists. 'Fortunately, an open schism among the Protestants, and a civil war in the Empire, were prevented by the intervention of the Emperor.'—*C.* The Emperor endeavours to prevent Germany being disturbed by religious feuds, and to hinder the religious contests which prevailed in France and the Netherlands from extending into Germany.

[Rise of the Huguenot party about this period in France; civil wars, and massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572. Reign of terror under the bloody Duke of Alva, and revolt in the Netherlands against Philip II. of Spain.] 'The rest of Germany beheld the great struggle in the Netherlands with almost supine indifference. The destruction of the Calvinistic Dutch was not unwillingly beheld by the Lutherans. The demand for assistance addressed, 1570, by the Dutch to the Diet of Worms received for reply that Spain justly punished them as rebels against the principle of "*cujus regio, ejus religio*."—*M.* 'As the struggle (of the Reformation), once begun, was maintained with great obstinacy, it soon led to serious political convulsions. Half of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, and Livonia, accepted the doctrines of Luther, as taught in the Confession of Augsburg. England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, embraced the tenets of Zuinglius and Calvin; while efforts to establish similar principles were made in France, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.'—*T. M. M. H.*

Rudolph II. (son of Maximilian), previously crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary, and King of the Romans, **Emperor, 1576.** "A second Frederic III.," who bestowed no attention upon the Empire, but devoted his whole thoughts to his horses, to the collection of natural curiosities and pictures, to the study of alchymy and astrology, in which he was assisted by the Dane Tycho de Brahe, and by Kepler, the great German astronomer.—*M.* The Emperor fixes his residence at Prague; his palace the famous Hradschin.

INCREASING DISCORD BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS. 'The Religious

Peace of Augsburg had failed to reconcile the contending parties, who were still further estranged by the decision of the Council of Trent, and by various untoward circumstances, such as the expulsion of the Protestants from Aix-la-Chapelle, where they had seized the reins of government; and the excommunication by the Pope of Gebhard, Elector of Cologne, who had gone over to Calvinism; the expulsion of a Protestant bishop from Strasburg; and the placing the Protestant city of Donauwerth under the ban of the Empire, for obstructing the Romish worship.'—P.

The authority of the Emperor is disregarded by the princes of the Empire, who wage civil war among themselves, and the influence of Austria in Germany declines almost to nothing. The Jesuits spread over the whole of the Catholic world. The war with the Turks in Hungary still goes on. The Protestants are persecuted in the Austrian dominions.

Formation of '**the Protestant,**' or '**Evangelical Union**' of the Protestant princes, under the Elector Palatine, Frederic IV., son-in-law of James I. of England, 1608, for the purpose of mutual protection:—opposed by

The Catholic League, 1610, of the Catholic princes, headed by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, in which foreign as well as German princes joined. Toleration granted to the Protestants of Bohemia by the Emperor; 1609. 'All who were formerly called *Utraquists* in Bohemia, from their possessing the communion in both kinds, joined the followers either of Luther or Calvin. Rudolph was obliged, at the Diet of Prague, to grant them the free exercise of their worship, without distinction of place, and even to extend this indulgence to the Protestants of Silesia and Lusatia by letters patent, known by the name of *Letters of Majesty*.'—K. 'The Catholic party had gradually gained internal strength. Paul IV. commenced the restoration; Pius IV. gave a new constitution to the Catholic world by the resolutions of the Council of Trent; Pius V. exchanged the shepherd's staff for the faggot and the sword, and, by his example, sanctified the cruelties perpetrated by Philip II.; Gregory XIII., the representative of Jesuit learning, put the Protestants to shame with his improved calendar, published 1584, and protested against by the Lutherans, who preferred an erroneous computation of time to anything, however accurate, proceeding from a Pope; and finally, Sixtus V. again displayed the whole pomp of the triumphant Church from 1585 to 1590.'—M.

Matthias, younger brother and presumptive heir to the Emperor, wrests from him Austria and Hungary, where he had defeated the Turks, 1606, and endeavours to compel the Emperor, who had become contemptible from his incapacity and total neglect of the affairs of government, to abdicate, 1611. Great political and religious troubles in Bohemia;

the Emperor is compelled to grant toleration to his Protestant subjects. *The disputed succession to the Duchies of Juliers, Berg, and Cleves sets the two great parties in array against each other, 1608-1612, and, with the Protestant Union and the Catholic League, gives rise to the great Thirty Years' War, soon to break out.* The intentions of Henry IV. of France to interfere in the affairs of the Empire, and to humiliate the House of Austria, are cut short by his assassination, 1610. The Emperor is gradually driven from his dominions, after a gallant defence of Prague, by his brother Matthias, and compelled to abdicate,* 1612. The States of Bohemia claim the restoration and confirmation of their rights from Matthias on his coronation as King of Bohemia; they are deceptively conceded by Matthias, who confirms the *Letters of Majesty*; but 'the fallacy of their hopes is clearly proved by the fact of Ferdinand's having annihilated in the mountains every trace of the liberty so deceitfully planted by his uncles and sovereigns in Bohemia.' *M.* Death of the Emperor Rudolph in his palace at Prague, of which he is still permitted to keep possession, 1611.

Interregnum of six months, during which the religious ferment in Germany continues in all its violence; but without any outbreak.

Matthias, brother of Rudolph, elected, after considerable opposition, **Emperor, 1612.** Confirms the *Letters of Majesty*, or edict of Toleration, 'the Palladium of Bohemian liberty,'—*M.*, granted by Rudolph II.; summons a diet, and in vain endeavours to obtain support for the Turkish war; is distrusted by the Protestant party, and is compelled to make a truce for twenty years with the Turks, 1615.

The enmity of the Catholics and Protestants continues to grow greater and greater. The Empire is divided into three distinct parties of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists. 'These parties were mutually

* Read the account in Coxe, vol. ii. ch. xlv. p. 121 seqq.

animated with religious hatred, and ready to take arms against each other on the most trifling pretext.'—C.

The Emperor in vain endeavours to restore tranquillity; procures the election of his cousin Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, as King of Bohemia and Hungary, 1617. Ferdinand crowned King of Bohemia at Prague; confirms and even enlarges the *Letters of Majesty*. 'Matthias, unable to recall past events, peaceably withdrew from public life, committing the government to his cousin Ferdinand, whom he caused to be proclaimed King of Bohemia, and who was destined to discover the little accordance between the system of oppression pursued by him in the mountains and the letters patent issued by Rudolph. His arrival with his Jesuitical counsellors at Prague filled Bohemia with dread, nor was it diminished by his hypocritical oath to hold the letters patent issued by Rudolph sacred; for how could a Jesuit be bound by an oath?'—M.

Ferdinand leaves the government of Bohemia in the hands of Slavata, a pervert from Protestantism, and Martinitz; goes on a pilgrimage to Loreto and binds himself by vow there to extirpate all heresy in his dominions, visits Rome, and is consecrated by the Pope Clement VIII., and his resolutions strengthened by the Pope's exhortations. Strict censorship of the press established in Bohemia by Ferdinand on his return; all Protestant preachers and schoolmasters are banished; great oppression of the people and systematic violation of their rights. The order issued by Ferdinand to shut up the new churches which the Protestants had erected at Braunau and Klostergrab, and to prohibit their worship, produces an outbreak at Prague;—*the delegates*, at the instigation of Count Thurn, the head of the Protestant party in Bohemia, *throw Slavata, Martinitz, and their secretary Fabricius out of the window of the Council Chamber in the Hradschin,* May 23, 1618. From this day dates the commencement of*

* Read Cox, vol. II. ch. xli. p. 149 *seqq.* In their letter of apology to the Emperor, the Diet of Bohemia argued that this custom was 'justified by the example of Jezebel in Holy Writ, who was thrown from a window for persecuting the people of God; and was common among the Romans, and all other nations of antiquity.' See also Menzel, vol. II. ch. xviii. p. 318. The window is still shown in the Hradschin, from which they were thrown. The height, as far as I can remember, may be about 70 feet. The unlucky victims of 'the ancient custom of Bohemia' are said to have fallen upon a dunghill, and to have escaped without much injury.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618-1648.

Expulsion of the Jesuits by the Bohemian Estates, under the direction of Count Thurn; an example followed by the rest of the hereditary provinces, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary. The confederates march under Count Thurn and Bethlem Gabor on Vienna, but are forced to retire: the war begins. 'Portents and omens of various kinds are supposed to presage the war.'—*J. G. L.*

Death of Matthias II.; 1617.

Ferdinand II., Emperor; 1619. He is deposed by the Diet of Bohemia, which elects Frederic V., Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia; 1619. 'In an evil hour for himself.' Bethlem Gabor is elected King of Hungary by the Hungarian Protestants; 1620. 'Jealous, bigoted, implacable, skilful in forming and concealing his plans, resolute to obstinacy in carrying them out in action, the House of Hapsburg could have had no abler and no more unpopular leader than Ferdinand II., in their second attempt to turn the German Empire into an Austrian military monarchy. They seemed for a time as near to the accomplishment of the project as Charles V. had been.'—*Br.* 'Ferdinand II., under whom the Thirty Years' War broke out, was as nearly as human bigotry and tyranny would admit the very counterpart of Philip II. of Spain.'—*Sm.*

The Principal Causes † of **THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 'The Greatest of all Religious Wars,'** ‡—*J. G. L.* (1618-1648) were—

1. The Spirit of Religious Faction. 2. The consequent dissolution of the Empire (no diet having been convened since 1613). 3. The unceasing ground of quarrel furnished by the Church lands, which Protestants had seized and which Jesuit confessors urged the Catholic princes to reclaim. 4. The

* Read extracts in Appendix from Smythe's lectures on *The Princes of the House of Austria, &c., and The Thirty Years' War.*

† 'If Henry IV. of France had lived, his scheme for making Christendom a federate republic might have prevented this war.'—*J. G. L.*

‡ 'This war, the longest, the most terrible which modern Europe has seen—in which "Germany was brayed as in a mortar under the iron mace of war," and from which, at this day, as many believe, it has only partially recovered—may be conveniently divided into three periods; viz. from 1618 to 1630, the triumph of the Catholic League and the Emperor; from 1630 to 1632, the career of Gustavus Adolphus to his death; from 1632 to 1648, the sixteen years during which the cause he came to support, though it staggered for a season under the blow of his death, yet never entirely lost the superiority which his victories had given it.'—Archbp. Trench's Lecture, *Gustavus Adolphus.*

influence of the Jesuits at the Austrian and Spanish courts. 5. The smouldering hate of half a century kindled by the troubles of Bohemia. 6. The corrupt and reckless policy of the ministers of the indolent and vacillating Rudolph II., which had done much to exasperate the already suspicious minds of the Protestants. 7. The bigoted and arbitrary conduct of the princes of the House of Austria; and in especial the personal character of Ferdinand II.

The principal Causes of the spread and duration of the War, were—

1. The participation that the German League took in it. 2. The renewal in 1621 of the war between Holland and Spain, which became interwoven with the German. 3. The implication of the Northern powers, especially Sweden, since 1635. 4. The share taken in it by France since 1635; and the policy of Cardinal Richelieu (directed against the House of Hapsburg), and his extensive influence in Europe.

H. M. M. E. 'The Thirty Years' War made Germany the centre point of European politics. It was not, however, a war carried on from beginning to end with one plan and for one object. No one at its commencement could have foreseen its duration and extent. But the train of war was everywhere laid, and required only the match to set it going: more than one war was joined to it, and swallowed up in it, and though first breaking out in Bohemia, it concerned only the House of Austria, yet by its originating in religious disputes, by its peculiar character as a religious war, and by the measures adopted both by the insurgents and the Emperor, it acquired such an extent that even the quelling the insurrection was insufficient to put a stop to it.'*—*H. M.*

The two great heroes of the Protestant Cause in Germany, were, first, the Elector Palatine, Frederic V.,† and, second, the illustrious Swede, at 'once a Christian, a soldier, a statesman, and a king.'

The principal leaders were, on the side of the Protestant Union, Count Thurn, Frederic V. the Elector Palatine, Ernest Count of Mansfeld, George Frederic Margrave of

* A clear and full résumé of the whole war, with valuable remarks, and a list of authorities, is given in Heeren's *Manual of the Pol. State-Systems of Mod. Europe*, vol. i. pt. i. 4th Period, p. 142-163. It is fully told in *Com.* vol. ii. ch. xlvii.-lix., and more briefly in Menzel, vol. ii. pt. xviii. ch. cxdv.-ccxii.

† This view (the heroic) of his character, which is Professor Smyth's, seems to me, to say the least, far too favourable.

Baden, Christian of Anhalt, Bethlem Gabor, Christian IV. of Denmark, 'the Student' in Upper Austria, Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, and the generals trained by him, Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, Gustavus Horn, Torstensohn, Baner, and Wrangel.

On the Imperialist and Catholic side, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria; John George, Elector of Saxony, 'most infamous of his infamous house, bribed by the cunning Austrian,'—*Br. Spinola*, Wallenstein, Tilly, Pappenheim, and Wallenstein's officers, Gallas, Piccolomini, Colloredo, Isolani.

THE LEADING EVENTS OF THIS GREAT WAR, were—

The irruption of Count Thurn and Bethlem Gabor into Austria and the unsuccessful siege of Vienna; 1619. The unsuccessful attempts of Frederic V., Elector Palatine, to engage the Protestant Union in his cause, while Ferdinand II. gains over the Catholic League by a compact with Maximilian of Bavaria, detaches the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse from the Protestant cause, and makes a truce with Bethlem Gabor: the Protestant Union makes a truce with the Catholic League; 1620. 'Both parties promised mutually to abstain from hostilities; the Union engaged not to support Frederic as King of Bohemia, the League not to attack the Palatinate. The Catholics were thus enabled to assist the arms of Ferdinand in Bohemia, and the Palatinate was left open to the invasion of the Spaniards or the Emperor, or to any of his allies except the Catholic League.' Invasion of the Palatinate by Spinola, and of Bohemia, by Maximilian of Bavaria and Tilly; *battle of the White Mountain* near Prague, defeat of the Bohemians, flight of Frederic V.; 1620. Conquest of Bohemia, *massacre of Prague*; total suppression of the Protestant religion in Bohemia, and abolition of the privileges of the kingdom; flight, banishment, and ruin of a vast number of the principal Protestant families; 1621. 'The name of hardly any prince has been more execrated than that of Ferdinand II. After the battle of the White Mountain he treated Bohemia as a conquered country; abolished the privileges of the kingdom; published the most atrocious laws against the Protestants, whom he deprived of their rights as citizens, as well as of their religious liberties; drove 30,000 of the best families into banishment; and endeavoured, by the most iniqui-

uous means, totally to suppress the religion itself.'—*T. N.* A similar plan is pursued in Silesia; the country placed under martial law, and every kind of cruelty practised. The Elector Palatine Frederic V. is laid under the ban of the Empire; and the war transferred to the Palatinate, his hereditary dominion. *Invasion of the Palatinate* by Tilly and Spinola; defeat of the Imperialists under Tilly by Mansfeld at Wisloch; but victorious at Wimpfen over the Margrave of Baden, and over Christian of Brunswick at Höchst: storm and sack of Heidelberg and Mannheim by the Imperialists; *the Palatinate overrun, devastated, and totally conquered by Tilly and Spinola*; 1622. Revolt of Upper Austria during the same period, or a little later, 'where, the whole country being Lutheran, the soldiery of Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the country had been consigned by Ferdinand II., had free licence to plunder, vex, and murder the heretical peasantry.'—*M.* Heroic resistance of the peasantry; the country is at length conquered and treated with horrible cruelty by Pappenheim. *Outbreak of the Danish War*; part and portion of the Thirty Years' War; 1625-1629. 'By the carrying of the war into Lower Saxony, the principal seat of the Protestant religion in Germany (the States of which had appointed Christian IV. of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, head of their confederacy), the northern States had already, though without any beneficial result, been involved in the strife, and the Danish war had broken out.'—*H. M.* *Campaign in Lower Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick, &c., of Wallenstein and Tilly*, against the Danes and Lutherans of Northern Germany; *defeat of Christian IV. at Lutter* in Brunswick by Tilly; 1626. Frightful ravages of the Imperialists: Wallenstein defeats Mansfeld and Ernest of Weimar at *Dessau*, and forces them to retreat through Silesia into Hungary; where they die. Wallenstein and Tilly carry on the war against Christian IV., and recover the countries on the Baltic, with the exception of Stralsund, which is vigorously defended; 1628. *Peace of Lübeck with Christian IV.*; 1629; who thereby abandons the Protestant cause, sacrifices his allies, especially the Dukes of Mecklenburg (who are driven out of their dominions, and put under the ban of the Empire); but recovers the territories conquered by Wallenstein. **The triumph of the Catholics was complete: the Protestant cause**

seemed lost; 1629. 'The more powerful among the princes of the Lutheran Union had turned traitors; the lesser potentates had been forced to yield. Christian of Brunswick expired at Wolfenbüttel; the Margrave of Baden had fled into Denmark; Maurice of Hesse was reduced to submission by Tilly, and died, after abdicating in favour of his son. The opposition of the people also had been stifled in blood; the peasants in Upper Austria and Brunswick had fallen a prey to the soldiery, and an insurrection of the Bohemian peasantry was speedily quelled; five hundred were slain, the rest branded and deprived of their noses. Wallenstein became the soul of the intrigues carried on in the camps and in the little courts of Northern Germany; and had not the Catholics, like the Protestants at an earlier period, been blinded by petty jealousies, Europe would have been moulded by his quick and comprehensive genius into another form.' *—*M. Wallenstein*

is invested with the forfeited Duchy of Mecklenburg; 1628: he held Pomerania also, and was created Generalissimo of the fleets in the Ocean and the Baltic.

'He did not come forward as conqueror alone, but, by the investiture of Mecklenburg, as a ruling prince. The dominion of the Baltic, which he hoped to obtain through the Hanseatic towns, was to be directed against Denmark and Sweden, and who could say what were his ulterior projects? The age was already accustomed to changes in the legal state of possession:—coronets had been already seized—why not crowns?'—*H. M.*

The Upper Palatinate, belonging to the unfortunate Frederic V., conferred on the Elector of Bavaria. **THE EDICT OF RESTITUTION** published by the Emperor Ferdinand II., 1629, 'extorted from him by the Jesuits, who caused it to be enforced in the most odious manner.'—*H. M.* 'The Emperor, undeterred by repeated warnings, abandoned his great general, and published, 1629, in the spirit of the League, the infamous edict enforcing the restitution of all ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau. By this edict the Protestant archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, eleven bishoprics, and numberless monastic lands were restored to the Catholics. This edict was executed with the greatest tyranny: the Catholic ritual was re-established in all the free Imperial cities; the Emperor appropriating the greater part of the booty to his own family, and appointing his son Leopold archbishop and bishop of Bremen, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Passau, Strasburg, as well as abbot of Hersfeld, and the whole of the confiscated monastic property, without distinction, falling to the Jesuits. Lay property shared a similar fate. Every nobleman who had served under Frederic of Bohemia, Mansfeld, or Brunswick, was deprived of his estates, and the Emperor's and the Leaguers' troops, under pretence of protecting the commissioners in the performance of their duties, were stationed in, and allowed to pillage the Protestant provinces.'†—*M.* Discontent and alarm both of the Lutheran and Catholic princes; the effect of the edict in some degree checked by the apprehensions of the latter: Diet of Ratisbon; jealousy and dread of Wallenstein on the part of the Catholic princes, and their

* Read the very interesting ch. ccvi. p. 336 *seqq.* in Menzel, vol. ii. on Wallenstein and his projects.

† For more read Menzel, vol. ii. ch. ccvi. p. 342, or Coxe, vol. ii. ch. l. p. 818.

indignation at the excesses committed by his troops,* and suspicions of him, on the part of the Emperor, lead to *the dismissal of Wallenstein*; 1630. 'The man to whom the Emperor owed all he possessed was dismissed.'—*M.* 'Ferdinand's high-handed proceedings had already alarmed even the Catholic princes. Of his own authority he had put the Elector Palatine and other magnates to the ban of the Empire: he had transferred an electoral vote to Bavaria; had treated the districts overrun by his generals as spoil of war to be portioned out at his pleasure; had unsettled all possession by requiring the restitution of Church property occupied since 1555. The Protestants were helpless: the Catholics, though they complained of the flagrant illegality of such conduct, did not dare to oppose it.'—*Br.* During this time the *War of the Succession to the Duchy of Mantua*,† 1628–1629; to secure to the Imperial house the succession, to which Charles, Duke of Nevers, a French prince, laid claim: 30,000 Imperial troops force their way through the Grisons and the Valteline, spread terror throughout Italy, and take Mantua by storm, 'committing the most horrid outrages in the city and its vicinity.'—*M.* Continuation of the *Siege of Stralsund*, the turning point in the War: 'The heroic defence of Stralsund decided the fate of Europe.'—*M.* **Gustavus Adolphus**,‡ King of Sweden, 'the Lion of the North,' nicknamed by the League 'the Snow-King,' enters into an alliance with Denmark, sends succour to the relief of Stralsund, and on June 24, 1630, lands with 16,000 men at Usedom in Pomerania, and drives the Imperialists out of the country. **Sweden at the head of the Protestant Confederacy.** **Frightful state of Germany at this period.** 'Every province throughout unhappy Germany, ancient Bavaria and the Tyrol alone excepted, had been ravaged by fire, sword, and pillage, during the religious war. A dreadful famine, caused by the Mansfeld expedition, by the rapine of Wallenstein's soldiery, and by the pillage carried on by the Jesuits, raged in Silesia: the citizens and peasantry died by thousands of starvation, and many instances occurred of parents devouring their children, and of brethren destroying one another for the last

* Read the fine '*Reiterlied*' in Schiller's *Wallenstein's Lager*, beginning 'Wohl auf, Cameraden,' &c., for a graphic idea of what his troopers were. 'It is supposed that in this part of the drama Schiller was assisted by Goethe.'—*J. G. L.*

† On the Mantuan Succession, in case the student wishes to get the point up, read Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, bk. II. Second Period, ch. v. from 1622–1628, p. 263 seq., and p. 271 of Whittaker & Co.'s edition.

‡ Read character of Gustavus Adolphus, from Prof. Smythe's *Lectures*, given in Appendix to this vol., and Archbp. Trench's charming *Lecture, Gustavus Adolphus*.

mouthful of bread. This misery, fearful as it was, was, however, a mere prelude to the horrors that ensued. The arrival of the Swedish king was but the opening of the war.'—*M.* Tilly, commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces, invests Magdeburg, Pappenheim also in command: the town is gallantly defended. *Treaty between Sweden and the leading States of Upper Saxony and William, the Landgrave of Hesse; and treaty at Bärenwalde, 1631; brought about by the influence of Cardinal Richelieu, the object of whose foreign policy was to depress the Austrian family both in Spain and Germany,* between Gustavus and Louis XIII.*; 'who promised to pay him annually the sum of 400,000 dollars, and to grant him aid, now rendered requisite by the lukewarmness of the Lutheran princes. Gustavus, deeply disgusted at their conduct, was alone withheld from abandoning his purpose, from returning to Sweden and coming to terms with the Emperor, by the consciousness that to him alone did Magdeburg and the people throughout Germany look for succour.'—*M.* Pappenheim and Conti, the Imperial generals, are unable to keep their ground before Gustavus: 'The Imperial army, raised, as it had been, in Wallenstein's name, and personally devoted and pledged to him, was, without him, no longer what it had been: nothing was to be seen in it but indecision, vacillation, panic, and defeat. Gustavus drove it utterly out of the field, and took up a strong position on the Lower Oder.'—*R.*

Surprise and sack of Magdeburg (which Gustavus is prevented from relieving by the pusillanimity or obstinacy of the Elector of Saxony, whom no motive of religion or policy could induce to grant the king a passage through his territory) by *Tilly and Pappenheim; 1631.* 'All the horrors ever exercised against a captured place were repeated and almost surpassed on this dreadful event, which, notwithstanding all the subsequent disorders and the lapse of time, is still fresh in the recollections of its inhabitants and of Germany. History has no terms, poetry no language, painting no colours, to depict all the horrors of the scene. In less than ten hours, the most rich, most flourishing, and most populous town of Germany was reduced to ashes: the cathedral, a single convent, and a few poor and miserable huts, were all that were left of its numerous buildings; and scarcely more than a thousand souls, all that remained of 30,000 inhabitants.'—*C.* Gustavus enters Prussia, makes himself master of, and garrisons, Berlin; is joined by 18,000 Saxons, and fights and wins **the battle of Leipzig** (also called the battle of Breitenfeld); 1631, over Tilly and Pappenheim. 'The battle of Leipzig was decisive for Gustavus Adolphus and his party, almost beyond expectation. The League fell asunder; and in a short time he was master

* 'This policy of Cardinal Richelieu marks the transition from the Religious Wars after the Reformation to the political combinations of later times.'—*J. G. L.*

† Read more in Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lii. p. 842, and Menzel, vol. ii. ch. ccvii. p. 348. There is also a graphic account of the sack of Magdeburg, with narratives of eye-witnesses, in *Historical Parallels*, vol. ii.

of the countries from the Baltic to Bavaria, and from the Rhine to Bohemia.* —*H. M.* Gustavus rapidly advances along the Maine, the Rhine, and the Neckar; takes Mayence and receives the surrender of numerous other fortresses.* 'The Protestant forces poured alike over the countries of the Leaguers and the Imperialists: on the Rhine the Protestants of the remote North met the old champions of Catholicism, the Spanish troops—their mingled skulls are to be seen at Oppenheim—all oppressed princes joined the King; the exiled Palatine appeared in his camp.'—*R.* The Saxons meanwhile conquer Bohemia; defeat of Maximilian of Bavaria and Tilly at the battle of the Lech; and death of Tilly; 1632. Advance of Gustavus into Bavaria; takes Munich: Ferdinand II., alarmed by the danger, and by the intrigues of France, of Maximilian of Bavaria, who had been corresponding traitorously with Richelieu, and of the Pope Urban VIII., re-appoints Wallenstein as *Generalissimo*,† 'who, the moment of danger passed, was again to be thrown aside and to be sacrificed to the Jesuitical party.'—*M.* Fresh and numerous army raised by Wallenstein: the war is carried on with frightful ferocity, ravage, and pillage by the Imperialists; the Swedish army kept under excellent discipline; but quarter often not given on either side: the Royal and the Imperial arms face each other for three months at Nuremberg; the Swedes suffering frightfully from famine, and Wallenstein's army from pestilence. The war transferred to Saxony: **DESPERATE BATTLE OF LÜTZEN; victory and death of Gustavus; 1632:** 'like Epaminondas, victorious after death.'—*A.* Pappenheim also killed. Oxenstierna, Gustavus's Minister, becomes Regent of Sweden, during the minority of Christina, daughter of Gustavus, and carries on the war, under the command of the generals trained by Gustavus, viz. *Bernhard of*

* 'Had Gustavus advanced on Vienna at once, he might have taken that city.'—*J. G. L.*

† The terms exacted by Wallenstein from the Emperor give some idea of the wonderful preponderance of his character. They were, briefly, that he should be sole commander-in-chief, and subjected to no interference from the Emperor; that every conquest he made should be entirely at his own disposal; that he should be at liberty to confiscate any property he pleased for the maintenance of his troops; and that he should be rewarded with the grant of one of the hereditary provinces of Austria, as well as with that of some other province. See more in Coxé, vol. ii. ch. liv. p. 871; and read the preceding pp. 886 *seqq.* on the character and grandeur of Wallenstein.

Weimar, Horn, Wrangel, and Corstensen. *Treaty of Heilbronn*, between Sweden and the German Protestant princes; 1633. 'The confederated princes, bribed by French gold, promises, and grants, still carried on the war and remained true to Oxenstierna, who, notwithstanding the opposition offered by France and Saxony, was elected head of the Confederacy in a convocation of the princes held at Heilbronn.'—*M.* The Saxons are driven out of Bohemia, which Wallenstein occupies—horrible partisan warfare waged in Saxony and in Thuringia by Holk, 'Wallenstein's infamous partisan,' and in Silesia by Wallenstein's officers, Illo, Görtz, and Piccolomini, 'a venal Italian mercenary, the most depraved wretch that appeared on the scene during the war;' Wallenstein himself remains inactive in Bohemia. *Assassination of Wallenstein*; 1634; at the command of the Emperor, and the instigation of the Jesuits, on the charge, probable, if not proved, of treason in carrying on negotiations with France, Saxony, and Brandenburg. 'Though the fall of Wallenstein was not sufficient to atone for treachery, if proved, it was for his equivocal character and imprudence. His death probably saved Germany from a catastrophe.'*—*H. M.* 'The extraordinary character of Wallenstein—the great general who could alone be opposed by Ferdinand to Gustavus—was sure to catch the fancy of a German dramatist like Schiller.† Here, for once, were realised all the darling images of the scene: mystery without any possible solution; energy more than human; magnificence without bounds; distinguished capacity; gloom, silence, and terror; injuries and indignation; nothing ordinary, nothing rational; and, at last, probably a conspiracy, and, at least, an assassination.'—*Smythe's Lect.* Wallenstein's assassins richly rewarded by the Emperor; Ferdinand, son of the Emperor, and King of Bohemia and Hungary, afterwards Ferdinand III, made commander-in-chief, with Count Gallas under him; various successes, accompanied with horrible atrocity, of the Imperialists, storm and sack of Landshut; dreadful state of all the provinces that were the theatre of war. 'The country swarmed with revolutionary peasant-bands, whom hunger had converted into robbers; towns were burnt down and the whole of their inhabitants butchered; to robbery and murder succeeded famine and pestilence; and the advanced Croatian guard of the Imperialists committed the most horrid excesses.'—*M.* Bernhard of Weimar defeated at the battle of *Nördlingen*‡ by the Imperialists; 1634. Frightful pillage and

* Read also some fine remarks on the character of Wallenstein in Prof. Goldwin Smith's *Lect. on Mod. Hist.* lect. iii. p. 26.

† 'This trilogy probably the finest effort of Schiller's genius.'—*J. G. L.*

‡ 'This battle is one of the most obstinately contested that is recorded in history.'—*J. G. L.*

devastation of Bavaria, Suabia, and the Palatinate and the shores of the Rhine as far as Coblenz. *France commences to take an active share in the war*, bribed by the surrender of Alsace, 'which Loeffer, the Swedish chancellor and the chief leader of the Confederation of Heilbronn, had contrived to secure to France, without Bernhard's assent, for which he was deprived of his office and banished by Oxenstierna.'—*M. France declares war first against Spain and soon after against the Emperor.* The Emperor concludes a *separate peace at Prague with Saxony*; the Elector of Saxony to retain Lusatia, of which he had taken possession, and the ecclesiastical lands, confiscated forty years previously (by the Edict of Restitution), to remain in the hands of their possessors. Alliance between the Netherlands and France, brought about by Cardinal Richelieu, who supports the enemies of Austria and Spain, and subsidizes the Swedish army: invasion of France by the Spaniards, in alliance with the Imperialists under Gallas, John de Werth, &c.; ravage of Picardy and Lorraine: they are driven out by Louis XIII. in person; 1635. Success of the Swedes restored by the *Victory of Wittstock* under Baner over the Saxon army of the Imperialists; 1636. Frightful ravage of Saxony by the Swedes: **the ravages of war, famine, and pestilence desolate the Empire; DEATH OF THE EMPEROR FERDINAND II.,* 1637.** 'During the year that the old Emperor closed his eyes that had so long gloated in blood, the misery that reigned throughout Germany had reached the highest pitch: the horrors of the long war, the destruction of the towns and villages by fire, the torture and murder of the citizens and peasantry by the soldiery, were accompanied by a famine, which depopulated whole districts: the land remained uncultivated, and a pestilence resulted from want, bad food, and the putridity of the air occasioned by heaps of unburied dead. The soldier, driven by necessity as well as by love of rapine, snatched the last morsel from the hands of the famishing wretches that remained. Whole provinces were so completely pillaged as to afford no sustenance to the troops, and men and children fought like wolves for a morsel of carrion. The historians of this period graphically describe this excess of misery. Ferdinand II., on his accession to the throne, found Austria Lutheran, thickly populated, and prosperous: he left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia 2,000,000 Hussites dwelling in flourishing cities and villages; he left merely 780,000 Catholic beggars. Silesia, happy and blooming, was laid desolate: most of her little cities and villages had been burnt to the ground, her inhabitants put to the sword. Saxony, the Mere, and Pomerania had shared

* Read the character of Ferdinand II. in Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lvi. p. 297 *seqq.* of Bohn's edit.

the same melancholy fate. Mecklenburg and the whole of Lower Saxony had been ruined by battles, sieges, and invasions. Hesse lay utterly waste. In the Pfalz the living fed upon the dead, mothers on their babes, brethren on each other. In the Netherlands, Liege, Luxembourg, Lorraine, similar scenes of horror were of frequent occurrence. The whole of the Rhenish provinces lay desert. Suabia and Bavaria were almost entirely depopulated. The Tyrol and Switzerland had escaped the horrors of war, but were ravaged by pestilence. Such was the aspect of Europe on the death of Ferdinand II., who, like an aged hyena, expired amidst mouldering bones and ruins.—*M.*

Ferdinand III., son of Ferdinand II., Emperor;

1637. King of Bohemia and Hungary. 'A man of insignificant character.'—*M.* 'The death of a bigoted Emperor, and the accession of a tolerant prince, gave hopes that peace would be speedily restored to Germany. But after so long and dreadful a contest it was no easy task to re-establish tranquillity; and the new monarch, unable to obtain any terms of peace, but such as would have dishonoured the memory of his father, injured the interests of his house, and endangered the Catholic cause, was compelled to continue a contest entailed on him with his inheritance, and of which he had seen and deplored the fatal effects.'—*C.* Successes of the Imperialists under Gallas against the Swedes under Wrangel in Pomerania; fruitless attempt of Prince Charles Louis and Prince Rupert, sons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine (afterwards King of Bohemia), to regain their lost inheritance: they are defeated by Hatzfeld, the Imperialist general, near Minden; 1638. Successes of Bernhard of Weimar over the Imperialists in Alsace; he defeats and captures Savelli and John de Werth at *Rheinfelden*, and takes Brisac after a most obstinate defence: successes of Baner, who recovers Pomerania, and overruns and devastates Saxony and Bavaria; he defeats and captures the Imperialist generals Montecuculi and Hofkirch at *Brandeiss* (in Bohemia); 1639; 'and, like another Tilly, spreads devastation from the frontiers of Saxony to the frontiers of Moravia.'—*C.* 'After overrunning Bohemia as far as Prague, where he encamped on the Weissen Berg, Baner, disappointed in his hope of finding some Hussites still in Bohemia, quitted that wretched country, which presented a complete scene of desolation, leaving his retreating footstep marked with fire and blood.'—*M.* *Death of Bernhard of Weimar* perhaps by poison, 1639. "'Germany,'" wrote Hugo Grotius, "was in this prince deprived of her greatest ornament and of her last hope—of almost the only one worthy the name of a German prince."—*M.* 'His death, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, terminated his brilliant career, delivering the house of Austria from the most dangerous of its enemies, and depriving the Swedes of their most active and skilful supporter.'—*C.* The army of Bernhard is induced by Cardinal Richelieu to take service with France, which thereby regains the whole of

Alsace. Guebriant appointed general of Bernhard's army. Death of Baner; 1641. *A diet* is assembled at *Ratisbon* to deliberate on the means of restoring peace, and the *preliminaries of Peace* signed at Hamburg by the ambassadors of the leading powers; 1641. Death of Cardinal Richelieu; he is succeeded by Cardinal Mazarin. The war continued. *Victory* of the armies of Weimar and Baner, now commanded by Guebriant and Wrangel, over the Imperialists under Piccolomini at *Wolfenbüttel*; successes of Piccolomini on the separation of the two armies: he drives the Swedes into Saxony and clears Lusatia and Silesia. Torstensohn joins the confederate armies with a reinforcement of 8,000 Swedes, and *defeats the Imperialists* under the Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini near *Leipzig*, 'twice already the scene of their discomfiture, and now for a third time of their total defeat;' 1642. 'The two armies encountered in the plain of Breitenfeld, on the very spot where Gustavus gained the memorable victory of Leipzig, which opened to him the centre of Germany. The place and the occasion, with all its concomitant circumstances, called forth the emulation and bravery of the contending hosts. The Imperialists were flushed with hope derived from recent success, and panted to vindicate their fame on the very ground which had witnessed their former disgrace. The Swedes, driven to desperation, were stimulated by every consideration of safety and honour to emulate the heroic deeds of those over whose graves they were contending. The battle was fought with all the fury inspired by these motives; and after a long and bloody conflict the Imperialists were totally routed, with the loss of 10,000 killed and prisoners.'—C. Invasion and conquest of Holstein and Jütland by the Swedes under Torstensohn, who compels Christian IV., King of Denmark, to give up the cause of the Emperor, with whom he had entered into a secret alliance; another Swedish army under Horn at the same time invading the country; 1644. Gallas, the Imperialist commander-in-chief (Piccolomini having entered the service of Spain), endeavours with the assistance of a Danish army to cut off Torstensohn in Jütland, but he evades their pursuit and re-enters Germany: the French army (in alliance with Sweden) defeated, under Guebriant, by the Bavarian Imperialist generals Mercy, Hatzfeld, and John von Werth, at *Dutlingen* in Bavaria; 1644. *Defeat of the French* again under the Duc d'Enghien (afterwards known as the great Condé), and of

Turenne by Mercy at *Freiburg* in Suabia; 1644. *Victory of Torstensohn* over Gallas at *Jüterbok* (in Prussia), and of Torstensohn and Horn over Hatzfeld and Montecuculi at the great and decisive *battle of Jankovitz* in Bohemia; 1645. *Negotiations for Peace are carried on at Osnabrück and Münster*; 1645. Moravia submits to the Swedes, who advance into Austria and threaten Vienna: *threatening condition of the Imperialist cause*: defection of the Elector of Saxony and of the Danes from the Imperialist cause, and shortly afterwards of Maximilian of Bavaria, the brother of the Emperor; 1645. 'During the three years that the negotiations for peace opened in the Congress of Münster and Osnabrück dragged on, the South of Germany, and especially Bavaria, was forced, by the repeated invasions of the French and Swedes, to drain the cup of misery to the very dregs.'—*H. M.* Peace concluded between Bavaria and France; 1646. John von Werth attempts to desert with the Bavarian troops to the Emperor, but is deserted by all his forces and narrowly escapes Wallenstein's fate. Wrangel succeeds Torstensohn in the command, and with Turenne desolates Suabia, Franconia, and Darmstadt. Melander appointed Generalissimo of the Imperial forces; the other Imperialist generals at this period were Montecuculi, John von Werth, Colloredo, Lamberg, and the Archduke. The Emperor Ferdinand III. takes the field in person: Maximilian of Bavaria again joins the Imperialist cause; 1647. Retreat of Wrangel from Bohemia before the united forces of Melander and Gronsfeld in order to effect a junction with Königsmark and the French army under Turenne.

Election at this period of *Ferdinand IV.*, 1647, son of Ferdinand III., as successor in the Empire, and coronation in the lifetime of his father. 'During these events the Emperor availed himself of the temporary expulsion of the Swedes from Bohemia to declare his son Ferdinand successor to the crown, and readily obtained the confirmation of the States. He also conciliated the Protestants of Hungary by removing the restrictions laid upon their worship, and restraining, by the strictest penalties, the insults or persecutions of the zealous Catholics. By these prudent concessions, he secured the election of the young prince, who was crowned at Presburgh, in opposition to all the intrigues of Ráeczí, who had formed a league with Sweden and invaded Hungary, and had declared him-

self independent of both the Porte and the Emperor.'—C. Fresh invasion and ravage of Suabia by Wrangel and Turenne; they defeat the Imperialists under Melander and Gronsfeld at *the battle of Zusmarshausen*, on the borders of Bavaria; 1648. Melander killed. 'The total ruin of the army was only prevented by the skill of Montecuculi, and the courage of Ulric, Duke of Würtemberg, who with a part of the cavalry covered the retreat.'—C. 'The victors spread, robbing and murdering, over Bavaria, and Königsmark was sent to invade Bohemia.'—M. Piccolomini recalled and made Generalissimo of the Imperialist forces; John von Werth in command of the cavalry: Piccolomini drives the confederates beyond the Danube: defeat meanwhile of the Imperialists under Lamberg by Geis at *Grevenburg*, in Hesse, and of the Archduke by the French under the Duc d'Enghien, at *Lens*, in the Netherlands; 1648. Surprise and capture of part* of the city of *Prague*, with the citadel and an immense booty, by Königsmark; 1648. 'An event by which peace was not a little accelerated.'—H. M. 'An enterprise, equally brilliant and decisive, was the surprise of Prague by Königsmark, who in the preceding campaign had given various proofs of his talents for desultory warfare.' Gallant defence of the other part of the city by the citizens under Colloredo and Conti against the desperate attacks of the Swedes, reinforced by the arrival of the Swedish general Wirtemberg and Prince Charles Gustavus, Duke of Deux-Ponts, and nephew of Gustavus Adolphus. 'This was the last event of this memorable, long, and bloody war; for on the following day, October 25, 1648, the inhabitants of Prague received the joyful intelligence of the signature of the armistice, which soon after gave peace to Germany.'—C. 'Peace was, at this conjuncture, proclaimed throughout the Empire to all the armies, to all the besieged cities, to the trembling princes, to the wailing people, and to the wild soldiery roused to fury at the news.'—M.

End of the Thirty Years' War; PEACE OF WESTPHALIA; THE FOUNDATION OF THE SUBSEQUENT POLICY OF EUROPE; 1648. Signed at Osnabrück, August 6, and at Münster, September 8. 'Münster was the place of negotiation for the Empire, Spain, France, and

* The *Neustadt* (new town), also called 'the Little Town,' and now, as every one who has had the good fortune to visit that most picturesque city, will remember, generally called 'Die kleine Seite,' on the right bank of the Moldau; as distinguished from the *Altstadt*, 'the Old Town,' on the left bank.

the Catholics, under the mediation of the Pope; Osnabrück for the Empire, Sweden, and the Protestants, under the mediation of the King of Denmark; and all the princes of Germany, as allies of France and Sweden, were to be admitted. The two congresses were considered as one, and a free communication was maintained between the two towns, which were left under the guard of their own magistrates and burghers, and freed from their allegiance to the Emperor and Empire.—C.

DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

'Germany is reckoned by some to have lost one-half, by others, two-thirds of her entire population during the Thirty Years' War. In Saxony, 900,000 men had fallen within two years; in Bohemia, the number of inhabitants at the demise of Ferdinand II., before the last deplorable inroads made by Baner and Torstensohn, had sunk to one-fourth. Augsburg, instead of 80,000, had 18,000 inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the Empire, had suffered at an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers and had enjoyed the deepest peace during the period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The working class had almost entirely disappeared. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire; industry and commerce had passed into other hands. The products of Upper Germany were far inferior to those of Italy and Switzerland; those of Lower Germany to those of Holland and England. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited, and were only by slow degrees re-peopled by foreign emigrants or by soldiery.'—M. 'The able biographer of Wallenstein pauses at the close of his labours to recount how, in the wars of which his hero was the guiding spirit, Germany, out of 16,000,000 of inhabitants, actually lost 12,000,000. In the duchy of Würtemberg, 70,000 hearth fires were extinguished; in Hesse, seventeen towns, forty-seven castles, and 300 villages were burned; and at Göttingen and Nordheim many hundred houses, for which tenants could no longer be discovered, were pulled down for fuel. Peaceful peasants were hunted for mere sport like beasts of the forest; citizens were nailed up against doors and walls and fired at like targets, whilst horsemen and Croats tried their skill in striking off the heads of young children at a blow.'*—T. N.

Reflections on the change in the character of the Thirty Years' War.

'During three generations religion had been the mainspring of politics. The revolutions and civil wars of France, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, the long struggle between Philip and Elizabeth, the bloody competition for the Bohemian crown, had all originated in theological disputes. But a great change now took place. The contest which was raging in Germany lost its religious character. It was now, on one side, less a contest for the spiritual ascendancy of the Church of Rome than for the temporal ascendancy of the house of Austria. On the other side, it was less a contest for the reformed doctrines than for national independence. Governments began to form themselves into new combinations, in which community of political interest was far more regarded than community of religious belief. Even at Rome the progress of the Catholic arms was observed with mixed feelings. The Supreme Pontiff was a sovereign prince of the second rank, and was anxious about the balance of power as well as about the propagation of truth. It was known that he dreaded the rise of an universal monarchy even more than he desired the prosperity of the Universal Church. At length, a great event announced to the world that the war of

* For more, read Archbishop Trench's *Gustavus Adolphus*, from which an extract is given in the Appendix to this work.

sects had ceased, and that the war of States had succeeded. A coalition, including Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics, was formed against the House of Austria. At the head of that coalition were the first statesman and the first warrior of the age; the former a prince of the Catholic Church, distinguished by the vigour and success with which he had put down the Huguenots; the latter a Protestant king, who owed his throne to a revolution caused by hatred of Popery.

'The alliance of Richelieu and Gustavus marks the time at which the great religious struggle terminated. The war which followed was a war for the equilibrium of Europe. When, at length, the Peace of Westphalia was concluded, it appeared that the Church of Rome remained in full possession of a vast dominion which in the middle of the preceding century she seemed to be on the point of losing. No part of Europe remained Protestant, except that part which had become thoroughly Protestant before the generation which had heard Luther preach had passed away. Since that time there has been no religious war between the Catholics and Protestants as such.'—*Mac. Essays.*

The principal articles of the Peace of Westphalia,* were, the establishment of a perfect equality of privileges to all religious sects alike; in other words, the free exercise of their religion was permitted to all forms of Protestantism. 'The Treaty of Passau and the Religious Peace of Augsburg were not only confirmed, but also expressly extended to the reformed party.'—*H. M. and C.* The Imperial chamber to be composed of equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants; the Church lands and benefices to remain in or to be restored to the same state that they were in on January 1, 1624, hence called the '*annus normalis*;' the '*Reservatum Ecclesiasticum*' to be held valid for the future. 'The article of the Ecclesiastical Reservation was recapitulated almost in the same words as in the Peace of Religion; but instead of being confirmed to the Catholics, was extended to the members of the Confession of Augsburg, by the stipulation, that, if an incumbent of an ecclesiastical office, whether Catholic or Protestant, should change his religion, he should be considered as having vacated his office, and another person of the same religion be appointed in his place.'—*C.* The foreign powers, viz. France and Sweden, that had carried on the war, as well as single States of the Empire, viz. the German princes of Brandenburg, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Mecklenburg, Hesse-Cassel, were indemnified for their expenses and losses in the war; and all other princes and States of the Empire who had been sufferers in the war

* For a full account of these, read Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lix, p. 333 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit., and Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cxi. p. 395 *seqq.*; read also the very excellent remarks on the Peace of Westphalia in Bryce's *Essay*, p. 138, quoted in the Appendix.

were restored to the possessions and rights enjoyed before 1619. 'France acquired Alsace, Brisac, and the bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun, and the city of Pignerol; Sweden gained Upper Pomerania, with the Isle of Rügen, and part of Lower Pomerania, with Stettin, Wismar, and other places, the whole to be held as a fief of the Empire, accompanied with a payment to the Swedish army of 5,000,000 of rix dollars; Brandenburg gained the secularised bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, under the title of principalities; Mecklenburg received the secularised bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzburg; Hesse-Cassel the princely abbey of Hirschfeld as a secular domain; Brunswick-Lüneburg the monastic lands of the convents of Gröningen and Walkenried, with the alternate succession to the bishopric of Osnaburg. Besides the above States, the Electorate of Saxony retained what it had acquired in the Peace of Prague; and the Lower Palatinate, or Rhenish Pfalz, with the electoral dignity, was restored to Charles Louis, son of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, with all his paternal possessions, except the Upper Palatinate and the county of Cham, which were confirmed to Bavaria, in whose favour an eighth electorate, with the office of great treasurer, was established.'—*H. M. M. and C.* The Republic of Switzerland and the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands were recognised and declared independent of the Empire; 'the war of the Spanish Netherlands being also terminated at this Peace, and the right of trade and colonisation being secured to the Dutch by a separate treaty with Spain.'—*O. C. T.* The rights of sovereignty in their own territories, as well as their rights in the diets, were secured to all the States in the Empire. 'By this Peace the German body politic obtained its determinate forms, soon after more firmly established by the permanent Diet of Ratisbon. The Imperial power was now constitutionally restricted within the narrowest limits; the princes were, in the fullest sense, rulers of their respective States; the welfare of Germany was attached to the territorial government, and but little to the Imperial. It became a federation under a limited sovereign: the provisions, at least, enacted, guaranteed the tranquil existence of the weak by the side of the strong.'—*H. M.*

The principal results of the Peace of Westphalia, 'an era in Imperial History not less clearly marked than the coronation of Otho the Great or the death of Frederic II.' (Br.) were, briefly: 1. The equality established between the two great bodies of Catholics and Protestants. 2. The severance thereby of the close tie that had hitherto united the Empire with the Church of Rome; 'both Lutherans and Calvinists, now the Evangelical Church of Germany, being declared free from the jurisdiction of the Pope or any Catholic prelate.'—*Br.* 3. The transference of all real power within the Empire from the Emperor to the Princes and Electors of the several States, who became virtually independent sovereigns

in their own territories, possessing the right of concluding alliances with foreign powers, making war or peace, and framing their own laws, as well as the right of suffrage in the Diet in all deliberations on the affairs of the Empire; * thus creating a number of independent petty States whose sovereignties were absolute in their own dominions. 'As Emperor, Ferdinand saw himself stripped of a great part of that authority which he derived from prerogative or prescription, and reduced to admit to a share of sovereign power and dignity the States whom preceding Emperors had treated as vassals.'—C. 4. The great loss of territory and preponderance in Europe sustained by the Empire as a whole. 'The Emperor's title of "Augmenter of the Empire" had become a mockery or empty sound. The Swiss and Dutch had asserted their independence; part of Lorraine and Alsace had been ceded to France, part of Lower Saxony to Denmark, Pomerania to Sweden, the Netherlands to Spain. Internally, the Empire was torn, and hung but loosely together; her constitution was a *monstrum reipublice*.'—M. 'The real gainers by the treaties of Westphalia were those who had borne the brunt of the battle against Ferdinand II. and his son, viz. France and Sweden.' 5. The great weight and power exerted after this period by France and French influence in Europe, in contradistinction to the increasing weakness and stagnation of Germany; and the origin from this time of the doctrine of the Balance of Power, the grand object, henceforth, of the policy of all States.

The Treaty protested against by the Pope, Innocent X. 'The Pope naturally made a violent protest against the secularisation of Church property.'—M. 'The Peace of Westphalia was regarded by Pope Innocent X. as an abrogation of the sovereignty of Rome and of the theory of Church and State with which the name of Rome was associated. He therefore commanded his legate to protest against it, and subsequently declared it void by the bull "*Zelo domus Dei*."—Br.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE FROM THIS PERIOD, 1648, LITTLE MORE THAN A MERE NAME: henceforth it is a federation under a limited sovereign. 'Henceforth it is, in everything but title, purely and solely a German Empire. Properly, indeed, it was no longer an Empire at all, but a Confederation, and that of the loosest kind. For it had no common treasury, no efficient common tribunals, no means of coercing a refractory member: its States were of different religions, were governed according to different forms, were administered judicially and financially without any

* Read the excellent remarks on this point in the extract from Bryce's *Essay*, given in the Appendix, to which I beg to acknowledge my obligations. Read also Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lix. p. 337, Bohn's edit.

regard to each other. . . . Properly speaking, the Empire has no history after this; and the history of the particular States of Germany which take its place is one of the dreariest chapters in the annals of mankind. It would be hard to find, from the Peace of Westphalia to the French Revolution, a single grand character or a single noble enterprise, a single sacrifice made to public interests, a single instance in which the welfare of nations was preferred to the selfish passions of their princes. . . . The history of the Empire for a century and a half is a dismal list of losses and disgraces. . . . The chief external danger was from French influence, for a time supreme, always menacing.'—*Br.*

During the above period, after the *Peace of Prague*, 1635, between the Emperor and the Electors of Saxony and of Brandenburg, Prussia, under its *Elector, Frederic William*,* generally known as the *Great Elector*,† continually gains power and importance; obtaining Lower Pomerania, Magdeburg, and other towns from the Empire, and throwing off its subjection to Poland. It does not, however, become a kingdom till 1701, when the Elector Frederic III. was acknowledged as King by the Emperor Leopold I., and crowned under the title of Frederic I., King of Prussia.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING THE PERIOD OF SOMEWHAT MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY SUBSEQUENT TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA; GENERALLY CALLED THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.; FROM 1648 TO ABOUT 1715.

Leopold I., son of Ferdinand III., Emperor; 1657.

During his reign, continued wars, insurrections, and troubles in Hungary: long civil war, and war with Turkey: in the course of which *Austria is invaded* by an immense Turkish army under the Grand Vizier, Mustapha Kara,‡ and *Vienna besieged*; 1683. The Emperor flies from the city: it is bravely defended for two months by Rüdiger, Count of

* Read Menzel, vol. II. ch. cccxiv. p. 481 *seqq.*

† Read, on 'The Great Elector,' Menzel, vol. II. ch. cccxiv. pp. 481-487.

‡ The invasion of Austria and siege of Vienna were undertaken by the Sultan at the earnest instance of Louis XIV., who at the same time invaded the western frontier of the Empire in person. The Museum at Vienna is full of interesting Turkish trophies, flags, arms, &c. &c., taken from their defeated army and abandoned camp. Amongst other things is the grim head of the Vizier himself.

Stahremberg. 'The formidable Turkish wars, the school of courage for the Germans, rendered the sons of the princes Generals, and likewise created a common point of union for the Emperor and the States.'—*H. M.* *The Siege of Vienna raised and great defeat of the Turks by John Sobieski*, King of Poland, and Charles, Duke of Lorraine, at the head of an army of Poles and Germans.

'The danger from the Turks was never so threatening to Germany as during this period, when it seemed inevitable that the fate of Vienna would decide that of the Empire. The contests respecting Transylvania, and the tyranny of the Austrians in Hungary, did not leave the Turks without adherents; and though in regular battles they had to bend to German tactics, there were found some leaders who understood what might be effected by great masses of light troops, animated by national pride and religious hatred.'—*H. M.* *Great victory of Mohacz over the Turks, 1687*; they are expelled from Hungary; *victory of the Prince of Baden over the Turks at Nissa, 1689*, and at Szalankemen, 1691; and *defeat of Sultan Mustapha by Prince Eugene at Zenta, 1696*. *Peace of Carlowitz with the Turks, 1699*. 'In the battle of Zenta Prince Eugene of Savoy, whom Louis XIV. had, by personal ridicule, rendered his most implacable foe, entirely broke the power of the Turks: he afterwards took Belgrade, and, by the Peace of Carlowitz, confirmed Austria in the possession of the whole of Hungary.'—*M.*

Establishment of a permanent Diet of the Empire at Ratisbon, 1663 (it lasts till 1806). 'The Diet now sat perpetually, and instead of being visited by the Emperor in person, and the great body of the nobles, consisted of a congress of deputies.'—*P.* 'Meanwhile the general German and Imperial courts of justice fell, like the local and private courts, into disuse, and were replaced by the provincial courts of the different principalities.'†—*M.*

The Tyrol united to Austria, 1665. 'The Tyrol and all the exterior provinces escheated to the Emperor by the death of his cousin Sigismund Francis, 1665, the last representative of the collateral branch without issue. Although these important territories could before be scarcely considered as a distinct sovereignty, because the princes had always been subservient to the head of their House, yet this fortunate reunion, at the same time that it brought an accession of revenue and military force, prevented a renewal of those feuds which had formerly weakened the Austrian family.'—*C.* The miserable state of Hungary, devastated by the Turkish war, and a conspiracy, real or pretended, of the insurgent nobles, punished with merciless severity at the 'bloody

* Read Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cccxvi. p. 492 *seqq.*, and Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lxvi. p. 445 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit.

† Read the ch. entitled 'The Empire—the Princes and the Nobility,' in Menzel, vol. ii. p. 410 *seqq.*

'theatre of Eperies,'* enables the Emperor Leopold to abrogate the ancient constitution of Hungary and to complete his long-meditated design of rendering *the crown of Hungary hereditary*: **Diet of Pressburg** convened, 1687, and Joseph, son of the Emperor, afterwards Joseph I., crowned King, and **Hungary**, hitherto an electoral kingdom, forcibly **converted into an hereditary monarchy**, and settled on the male line of the House of Austria.

During the same time, owing to the ambition of Louis XIV. of France and his invasion of Holland, *war begins between Austria, under the Emperor Leopold I., and France*. League between the Emperor Leopold I., Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, and the Dutch, against France; 1672. Devastation of the Palatinate by Turenne; **the Empire joins in the war**; 1674. 'The aggressions of Louis, the devastations of the Palatinate by the French troops under Turenne, the occupation of Treves and Lorraine, the seizure of the ten Imperial towns in Alsace, a long series of arrogant declarations and unprovoked aggressions, all gave weight to the representations of the Emperor, and the whole Diet concurred in a declaration of war against France.'—C. Battles on the Rhine between Turenne and Montecuculi; *Peace of Nimwegen*; 1679. Recommencement of the war: loss of Strasbourg and a large part of Alsace to France; fresh devastation of the Palatinate by the French; burning of the cities of Worms, Spire, Oberwesel, Andernach, and many others, by the French; frightful destruction and depredations of the French. 'The towns were reduced to ashes; the inhabitants murdered or dragged into France, and compelled to recant. In Spire the Imperial vaults were broken open, and the remains of the Emperors desecrated.'—M. 'Prodigious as the waste of treasure in the wars of Louis with the other powers of Europe was, history has a far darker tale, of the utter ruin and desolation, by the armies of Louis, of the defenceless cities of Worms, Spire, and Oppenheim, of all the territories of Treves and Baden, and of all the towns, villages, and hamlets of the Palatinate, and of the unarmed inhabitants of

* 'To execute the sentences of the horrible tribunal instituted at Eperies by Caraffa, whose cruelties scarcely find a parallel in the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla, or the massacres of the cold-blooded legal Tiberius, thirty executioners, with their assistants, found constant employment; and a scaffold erected in the midst of the town, as the place of execution, is commemorated in history by the expressive appellation of the Bloody Theatre of Eperies.'—Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lxvi. p. 451.

those once smiling regions—crimes which, as they were wantonly perpetrated in cold blood, and by one Christian and civilised people upon another, threw into the shade the worst ravages of Attila and Genseric, and almost challenged a comparison with the atrocities of the day of St. Bartholomew.* —*Sir James Stephen*, vol. ii. p. 435. Gallant efforts of William, Prince of Orange, and of the Imperial generals Louis, Margrave of Baden, and of George, Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. **Disgraceful Peace of Ryswick, 1697**, 'by which Louis XIV., besides Lorraine, the Pfalz, Breisach, Freiburg, and Philippsburg, retained all his conquests—among others, Strasburg.*' 'Louis XIV. was, before the end of his life, an object of intense hatred, and officially entitled "Hereditary Enemy of the Holy Empire." France had nevertheless a strong party among the princes always at her beck. The Rhenish and Bavarian Electors were her favourite tools. The "*reunion*," begun in A.D. 1680, a discreet euphemism for robbery in time of peace, added Strasburg and other places in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté to the monarchy of Louis and brought him nearer the heart of the Empire, and his ambition and cruelty were witnessed to by repeated wars and the devastation of the Rhine countries.'—*Br.*

CHANGE OF THE DUCHY OF PRUSSIA under Frederic III., Elector of Brandenburg, son of 'the Great Elector,' **INTO A KINGDOM**, and recognition of Frederic III. as **KING OF PRUSSIA**, under the title of **FREDERIC I.** of Prussia;† 1701. 'The election of William of Orange to the throne of England, and of Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland, roused Frederic's jealousy, and the transformation of the Duchy of Prussia, then no longer a Polish fief, into a kingdom, was resolved upon, and its recognition was effected by means of 6,000,000 dollars. The Jesuits at Vienna received 200,000. They treated the petty kingdom with ridicule; but Prince Eugene, who foresaw that the successors of this new monarch would increase in power and arrogance, said, "Those ministers by whom the King of Prussia has been recognised deserve to be hanged." The Pope also strongly protested against the weak concession made by the Emperor.'—*M.*

[Career during this period of Charles XII. of Sweden, 1697–1718, and his wars against Denmark, Poland, and Russia.]

Commencement of the troubles concerning the succession to the Spanish Crown. 'Charles II., son of Philip IV., last male descendant of the Austro-Spanish branch, having neither son, nor daughter, nor brother, the succession devolved, either, through Maria Theresa, his eldest sister, wife of Louis XIV., on Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin; or, through Margaret Theresa, the younger sister, on Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, her grandson; or, through Maria Anne, daughter of

* For more read Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lrv. p. 432 *seqq.*

† See above, under the year 1635; and read Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cccxxviii, p. 506.

Philip III. of Spain and mother to the Emperor Leopold I., to his son, the Archduke Charles of Austria.'—K.

WAR of the Spanish Succession,* 1701-1714. Grand Alliance of the Hague between Austria, Holland, and England, joined in 1702 by Prussia and by the Empire, and in 1703 by Portugal and Savoy, to place the Archduke Charles on the Spanish throne, and prevent the union of Spain and France. Allies of France, Bavaria, under Maximilian II., the Elector; Cologne, under the Elector of Cologne (brother to Maximilian II. of Bavaria); Mantua; and till 1703 Portugal and Savoy. [The boast of Louis XIV., 'il n'y a plus de Pyrénées.'] Successful intrigues of Louis XIV. at Madrid: first and second partition treaties; death of Charles II. of Spain, and proclamation of Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., as Philip V. at Madrid.

The WAR is waged IN SPAIN, GERMANY, FLANDERS, AND ITALY. IN SPAIN, the Archduke Charles, the Earl of Peterborough,† and, afterwards, the Earl of Galway, opposed to the Duke of Berwick, Vendôme, and Philip V.

IN GERMANY, FLANDERS, AND ITALY; Tallard, Catinat, Villars, Villeroy, Marsin, and Boufflers, opposed by Prince Eugene ‡ and Marlborough, supported by Heinsius, the grand pensionary of Holland. 'A triumvirate like that of Eugene, Marlborough, and Heinsius is rarely found to occur in history; but not merely their greatness, their very weaknesses contributed to make the alliance indissoluble. Would it have been so without the avarice and ambition of Marlborough, without the obstinate narrowness of Heinsius? The noble Eugene is alone without a blemish. The personal situations of these men rendered their sphere of action extensive; of Eugene as a general, and, since 1703, president of the Council of War; of Heinsius, as grand pensionary, without a stadtholder; of Marlborough, at once as a general, a statesman,

* The fullest account of this war the reader will find in Lord Mahon's *War of the Spanish Succession*. There is a good sketch of it in the *Student's Hist. of France*, published by Murray. See also Menzel, vol. ii. ch. cccxxx. and vol. iii. ch. cccxxi., or Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lxviii. *seqq.*

† Read, on the exploits of the Earl of Peterborough in Spain, Defoe's very amusing novel or tale, *Memoirs of Col. Jack*.

‡ On Prince Eugene, read an admirable article in the *National Review* for October 1860. The masterly picture of Marlborough in Thackeray's *Esmond* is well known.

and the head of a party. He ruled in the cabinet as well as in the field, as long as the party of the Whigs was at the helm; a crafty, uncertain, fascinating hero.'—*H. M.*

*The principal events of the War** were, the **Invasion of Italy by Prince Eugene**; his occupation of Lombardy; doubtful battle of Luzzara against Vendôme, 1702. Victory of Prince Eugene at Turin, 1706: he drives the French out of Italy and occupies Milan and Mantua, 1707. **Victories of the French** on the Rhine over the Imperialists at Fridling, Stolhafen, Hochstedt, and Spire, 1702, 1703. **Marlborough enters Germany** to assist the Emperor (Leopold I.), 1704. Wins the victories of Blenheim,† Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, 1704-1709. 'The campaign of 1704 was the first decisive one for Germany. By the great victory obtained by the allies, under Marlborough and Prince Eugene, at Blenheim, August 13, 1704, Bavaria was conquered and Germany delivered. Such a day Louis XIV. had never witnessed.'—*H. M.* Capture of Lille, Mons, Douai, and other fortresses of 'the Iron Frontier' by Eugene and Marlborough. Meanwhile **the Archduke Charles enters Spain**, 1704, supported by the Portuguese and English, and opposed by the Duke of Berwick; 1704. Gibraltar taken by Rooke; storm of Monjuich by Peterborough; the Archduke Charles takes Barcelona and is acknowledged in Catalonia, Murcia, and Valencia; Philip flees from Madrid. 'Charles refused to enter Madrid on account of the want of a state carriage, and by his folly delayed the performance of a ceremony which would have made the deepest impression on the Spaniards.'—*M.* 1704-1708. 'The war was begun in Spain between Charles and Philip; it was not, however, decisive, but for that reason the more destructive as a civil war, Charles being chiefly supported in Catalonia and Arragon, Philip in Castile.'—*H. M.* 'Fostered by the national hatred between the Castilians and Arragonese, a civil war was begun, the horrors of which are almost without a parallel in history.'—*P.* Peterborough is superseded by the incompetent Earl of Galway in command of the Archduke's allied army of English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Catalonians; and is, with

* A concise and clear summary of the war is given in Heeren's *Manual of the Pol. State Systems of Europe*, vol. i. Period II. pt. i. p. 279.

† Read Coxe, vol. ii. ch. lxx. p. 509 *seqq.* 'The loss of the enemy (the French and Bavarians) exceeded 40,000 men, including prisoners and deserters, besides 120 pieces of artillery, 300 colours and standards, and the principal part of the military chest.' Read also Knight's *Pop. Hist. of England*, vol. v. p. 281 *seqq.*, and Thackeray's novel of *Emona*.

Das Minas, disgracefully defeated at Almanza,* 1708. The Archduke loses all his conquests in Spain except part of Catalonia and the two towns of Alicante and Denia. Reinforcements arrive from Germany under Stahremberg, who, with the aid of the English under Stanhope, wins the victories of Almenara and Saragossa† over Philip's forces, and enables the Archduke a second time to drive Philip out of Madrid; 1710. Charles enters Madrid. 'But the moment when he would have been welcomed with open arms had been irreparably neglected. The people, jealous of his dependence upon the English heretics, received him with ominous silence. The Pope and the Jesuits secretly worked against him. France sent reinforcements and her best general, Vendôme.'—*M.* 'Had Charles been capable of improving his victory, this successful day (the victory of Saragossa) might have again restored the crown to the House of Austria; but while he remained in a state of indecision Philip actively employed the interval in repairing his losses.'—*C.* Victory of Vendôme at Brihuega and capture of Stanhope's forces. 'At this critical moment Stanhope separated from the Germans, and allowed himself and the whole of his army to be made prisoners.'—*M.* Bloody and obstinate battle of Villa Viciosa, 1710. 'The victory was claimed by both parties, and Te Deum was sung both at Barcelona and Madrid; yet whatever honour or advantage Stahremberg might have gained in this well-fought conflict, he suffered all the consequences of a defeat; reaching Catalonia with no more than 7,000 men, the dispirited remnant of that army which, a few months before, seemed master of Spain.'—*C.* The Archduke Charles remains at Barcelona till the death of his brother Joseph I. recalls him to Germany.

Foundation of the Bank of Vienna, 1703 (or, according to some authorities, 1714). 'Commencement, from this period, of the evils caused in Austria by the abuse of paper money: none other of the States in Europe has suffered so long and so severely on this account.'—*H. M.*

During the above period, while the War of the Spanish Succession was being carried on, death of the Emperor Leopold I.,‡ 1705.

Joseph I. (son of Leopold I.), **Emperor, 1705;** just after the victory of Blenheim. 'During the reign of his father, Leopold I., Joseph had served with distinction in the German army against the French. Nor was he less humane than generous and intrepid: he exhorted

* Read Coxé, vol. iii. ch. lxxiv. p. 32, Bohn's edit.

† On these and the subsequent events in Spain, read Coxé, vol. iii. ch. lxxviii. p. 67, Bohn's edit.

‡ Read the character of Leopold I. in Coxé, vol. ii. ch. lxxi. p. 515, Bohn's edit.

and animated the soldiers, visited the sick and wounded, and distributed presents among the widows and orphans of the slain.'—C.

Insurrection of the peasantry in Bavaria against Austria, quelled and punished with merciless severity. The Emperor restores religious liberty to Hungary; 'a measure which had more effect in quelling Ragoczy's insurrection than even the victories gained by General Heister.'—M. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne put under the ban of the Empire, 1706. Fruitless negotiations for peace at Gertruydenberg, carried on during the war; 1710. Successes of the Imperial armies in Hungary against the insurgents under Ragoczy, who takes refuge in Poland. 'During this career of victory Joseph acted with equal prudence, lenity, and vigour.'—C. *The Convention of Zetmar, 1711, gives peace to Hungary.* 'The principal conditions of this celebrated treaty were: a general amnesty; the restitution of confiscated property; the liberation of prisoners; and the exercise of the Protestant religion as stipulated by the constitutions of the kingdom; with the confirmation of all rights and immunities approved by Joseph at his coronation, and liberty to propose other grievances for redress at the ensuing Diet.'—C. Untimely death of the Emperor Joseph; 1711. 'When just beginning the proud satisfaction of giving tranquillity to a country so long distracted by civil commotions, and of being able to turn his whole force against France, death arrested him in the midst of his short but brilliant career.'—C.

Charles VI., brother of the late Emperor Joseph I. and son of the Emperor Leopold I., crowned **Emperor**, at Frankfort; 1711. 'Charles was at this juncture (his brother's death) in Spain, reduced to the single province of Catalonia, and was awakened from his dream of visionary regal grandeur to the inheritance of the House of Austria, and the prospect of the Imperial dignity.'—C. 'The accession of Charles entirely changed the aspect of affairs. England, who was imitated by the allies of lesser importance, deemed Germany and Spain more dangerous when united under one head than France and Spain under two, and unexpectedly declared in Philip's favour. Torrents of blood were again fruitlessly shed, and France, aided by all the other European powers, once more grasped her prey.'—M. The war continues; the forces of the Empire under the command of Prince Eugene; the **Peace of Utrecht**,† **1713** (between France, with England, Holland, Portugal, Savoy, &c. &c.), leaves the Empire alone at war with France; Prince Eugene is thwarted by the incapable

* Read the character of this Emperor in Coxe, vol. iii. ch. lxxix. pp. 79, 80.

† On the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, read Heeren's *Manual (Europe)*, vol. i. Period II. pt. i. p. 284, where the terms of all the separate treaties concluded at the Congress of Utrecht are given. More briefly, Coxe, vol. iii. ch. lxxx. p. 94 (Bohn's edit.), or in Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cccxxi. p. 6.

Duke of Ormond, successor in command of the English forces, after Marlborough's disgrace, and *peace is concluded with France at Radstadt or Baden*; 1714. 'By this the treaty of Utrecht was recognised: Philip remained in possession of Spain, England in that of Gibraltar, &c. The Emperor, Charles VI., on the other hand, retained all the Spanish possessions in Italy, Naples, Milan, Sardinia, besides the Netherlands and the fortresses of Rehl, Freiburg, and Breisach, and the territory hitherto possessed by the French on the right bank of the Rhine, for which France was indemnified by the cession of Landau. The Emperor, as sovereign of the Netherlands, now concluded a treaty with Holland, according to which the fortresses on the French frontier were to be garrisoned and defended by both Austrians and Dutch.'—*M.* Fresh war in conjunction with Venice against the Turks: victory of Eugene at Peterwardein, 1716, where the Grand Vizier is killed, and at Belgrade; taking of Belgrade; 1717. *Peace of Passarowitz with Turkey*; 1718, by which Turkey cedes Belgrade, Temeswar, and part of Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. 'The Turks, however, retained the Morea, which Charles had fruitlessly endeavoured to recover for Venice.'—*P.* Establishment by Prince Eugene of the military colonies (Granitzers) on the Turkish frontier.

CRUEL PERSECUTION during this Emperor's reign *OF THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES IN THE TYROL AND THE SALZKAMMERGUT*, by the Catholic party, headed by the Jesuits. 'It had been begun as early as 1685, and lasted in all till 1740, or even later.' Great emigration of the persecuted peasantry, known under the name of **The Salzburg Emigration.*** Frightful persecution and tortures inflicted by the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Inquisition;† supported by a force of 6,000 soldiers sent by the Emperor Charles VI. 'The soldiers, incited by their officers and by the priests, fell upon the peasantry like hounds upon timid deer. They were dragged from their homes, cruelly beaten, together with their wives and children. These crimes were countenanced by the Archbishop, who tortured the heads of the communes in prison, whilst the villagers fell a prey

* Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cexxxiii. p. 30 *seqq.*

† The reader who has had the good fortune to visit Salzburg will probably agree with me, that nothing but a total loss of memory will ever efface from his recollection the dungeons and torture-chamber of the castle of Salzburg, still existing in perfect preservation, with its grim array of rack, Spanish horse, and well. The only parallel to it I have ever seen in Europe, is the similar one at Ratisbon; but there is another, not in such perfect preservation, in the castle, I think, of Nuremberg.

to the licence of the soldiery.'—*M.* Noble exertions of Frederic William I., King of Prussia, in their behalf: he gives the exiles a refuge in his dominions. 'The inhuman separation, during this persecution, of upwards of a thousand children from their parents, a barbarity worthy of cannibals and of the savages of the wild, not of a civilised nation, so deeply revolted the Prussian monarch, the only German prince who exerted himself in their favour, that, after in vain threatening the Archbishop with reprisals, he despatched commissioners to Salzburg in the hope of saving some of the children by this exertion of his authority, but in vain. The expelled peasantry were, ere long, followed by crowds of voluntary emigrants, more particularly from Berchtesgaden. They were mocked and ill-treated during their passage through the Catholic countries, but found a friendly reception in Württemberg, Nüremberg, and Hesse. A part of them went to Holland and North America, but the greater number, amounting to 16,300 souls, went into Prussia, and settled in the dwelling-places assigned by the King on the Niemen near to Tilsit, where their descendants still flourish.'—*M.*

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, an edict of the Emperor, promulgated by him in 1718, and subsequently confirmed by the Diet of the Empire, declaring his daughter Maria Theresa sole heiress of all the Austrian States. 'The Pragmatic Sanction was a new law of succession for the inheritance of the House of Austria. Charles settled the right of succession, in default of his male issue, first on his own daughters, then on the daughters of Joseph, and afterwards on the Queen of Portugal and the other daughters of Leopold.'—*C.* **THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION BY THE EMPIRE AND BY THE GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE BECOMES THE CHIEF OBJECT OF THE EMPEROR'S POLICY.** 'Charles VI. was the last of the male line of the House of Hapsburg. His only son died during infancy, and his whole care was to secure the inheritance of all his crowns to his daughter, Maria Theresa, whose hand he had bestowed upon Francis, the youthful Duke of Lorraine; an object he hoped to attain by means of the Pragmatic Sanction, a guarantee purchased from all the great European powers. Blinded by paternal affection, he imagined that the sovereigns of Europe would consider a treaty binding; an example of naïveté remarkable in the midst of the faithlessness of the age.'—*M.*

Quadruple alliance against Spain (the Emperor renouncing all claim to the Spanish crown) of the Empire, France, England, and Holland, 1718, afterwards, 1720, moulded into a Treaty of Peace with Spain. 'During the war that ensued, 1718-1720, Byng, the English admiral, almost totally destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro (twenty-one vessels taken or destroyed out of twenty-seven); the coasts of Galicia were ravaged by English squadrons; a remnant of the Spanish navy destroyed in Vigo; Spain invaded by a French army under

the Duke of Berwick; Messina taken by an Imperial army under Mercy, and nearly the whole of Sicily recovered from the Spaniards; Peter the Great of Russia, who was irritated against George I. of England, was overawed by the appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic, and Charles XII. of Sweden, on whose co-operation Alberoni, the Spanish minister, had founded the most sanguine hopes, was killed at the siege of Fredericshall.*—C.

Acknowledgment of the Pragmatic Sanction by Spain, Russia, and Prussia; 1726; and by France, England, Holland, and Saxon-Poland, about 1731, 1732. The accession of all these Powers, except Prussia, was purchased at an enormous sacrifice. 'France was promised Lorraine; † Spain was bribed with Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; England and Holland were gained by the abolition of the commercial society of Ostend, which dealt a fatal blow to the Dutch trade. Augustus of Saxon-Poland was gained over by the assurance of the succession of the crown of Poland to his son, Augustus III.'—M.

Depravity, Degradation, and license in the minor Courts of Germany ‡ at this period, from about 1720–1760. Enormous expense, waste, and extravagance, and dissipation, prevail in the Courts of Saxony, Bavaria, the Electorate of the Pfalz, Baden, Würtemberg, Hanover, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, &c. &c.

Four Royal European thrones, it may be observed, viz. Great Britain, Prussia, Poland, and Denmark, are at this time filled by Princes of the Empire.

War of the Polish Succession, 1733, to place Stanislaus, father-in-law of Louis XV. of France, on the Polish throne; supported by France, Spain, and Sardinia, against Austria, Denmark, and Russia, who support Frederic Augustus II. The Empire joins in the war, 1734. Campaigns in Italy and the Rhine. Final loss of Lorraine and Bar to the French.

* 'His death was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress and a dubious hand.'

Johnson, *Vanity of Human Wishes*.

The fine passage, beginning with 'On what foundation,' &c. &c., and of which the two lines above quoted form the conclusion, is well known. The design formed by Charles XII., at the instigation of Alberoni, to invade England at the head of a combined force of Swedes and Russians, with the intention of joining the Jacobites and dethroning George I., is noticed in but few works on English history.

† Lorraine did not finally become French till 1766, during the reign of Francis I. Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cccxxi. p. 11.

‡ Read on this, ch. cccxxiii. of Menzel, vol. iii.

The war lasts * till 1738, with little else than disaster and disgrace to the Empire, in spite of the exertions of Prince Eugene and Mercy, till the peace concluded by the Treaty of Vienna, after a period of nearly three years spent in negotiation.

Marriage of the Archduchess Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., to Francis, Duke of Lorraine, and grandson of the Emperor's sister Leonora (afterwards Francis I.). Death of the brave Prince Eugene. Disastrous war with the Turks, 1737-1739; loss of Servia, Wallachia, and Bosnia; siege and surrender of Belgrade to the Turks. *Disgraceful Peace of Belgrade*, by which all the territories ceded by the Turks in 1718 are, with the exception of Temeswar, restored to them.† 'The armies of the Emperor were since the death of Eugene, commanded by incapable generals, and defeated in three several engagements, by the Turks, who recovered almost all the territory previously wrested from them.'—P. 'The Emperor was violently agitated at the disasters that had befallen him, and in the agony of his mind he exclaimed, "Is the fortune of my Empire departed with Eugene?"'—C.

Gradual decline and decay of the Empire both externally and internally. 'The Austrian Monarchy (for it can hardly be considered at this period as an Empire any longer) changed its policy and provinces, without suffering any internal revolution, other than that of a gradual decline. The Emperor, Charles VI., more occupied with the future than the present, had already obtained the guarantee of his Pragmatic Sanction from all the European powers—at least on paper. Providence, indeed, had given him an Eugene; but he was unable to prevent even the decay of the army, much less that of the finances, and the whole internal organisation.'—H. M.

Death of Frederic William I., King of Prussia, 1740, the founder of Prussian greatness, 'leaving behind him a flourishing revenue, an accumulated treasure, and an army of 70,000 men, surpassing any European troops in discipline.'—O. C. T. He is succeeded by his son, Frederic II., 'der alte Fritz'; also known by the soubriquet of 'Frederic Sanspareil'; 1740; who raises Prussia to the rank of one of the five first-rate European powers.

* On this most uninteresting war, the reader can, if he pleases, see Coxe, vol. iii. ch. xc. and xci., Bohn's edit.

† On this war, if the reader cares, he can see Coxe, vol. iii. ch. xcii., xciii., xciv. A clear summary of it, and of the conditions of the Treaty of Belgrade, is given in Heeren, *Manual of the P. S. S. of Mod. Europe*, vol. i. Period II. pt. ii. p. 351.

Death of the Emperor, Charles VI.; 1740; in whom was extinguished the male line of the Hapsburg family. He is succeeded in the hereditary States, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, by

MARIA THERESA, his eldest daughter, wife of Francis, Duke of Lorraine; 'a woman distinguished for her beauty and for a character far surpassing in vigour that of her father and those of many of her ancestors.'—*M.* 'No princess ever ascended a throne under circumstances of greater peril, or in a situation which demanded more energy, fortitude, and judgment.'*—*C.*

The Pragmatic Sanction at once disregarded on the death of Charles VI. by Spain, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and France. 'No semblance of justice could be brought forward; for France had not merely recognised, but even guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. This, however, seemed to France the time for destroying her ancient rival and for dividing her provinces.'—*H. M.*

Arduous crisis of affairs in the hereditary States of the Austrian Monarchy. Claims are advanced to the whole Austrian Monarchy by Spain, Saxony, and Bavaria;† and invasion at the same time of Silesia by Frederic II. of Prussia; 1740. 'Frederic II. (the Great) availed himself of this opportunity for reviving the ancient claims of Brandenburg to the Silesian Duchies of Brieg, Liegnitz, and Wohlau, and to the principality of Jägerndorf. The refusal of Maria Theresa to recognise these claims led to the first Silesian war.'—*P.* 'Frederic II. ascended the throne, determined to raise Prussia to the rank of one of the great Powers of Europe; and regarded aggrandisement as the means by which he must effect it. He gave himself but little trouble respecting the justice of his undertakings; but he was distinguished from the common herd of conquerors by having one fixed object. He desired no more than was requisite for that object, and the conquest of Silesia appeared to him sufficient. His claim to some portion of it furnished him with an apology. Thus began, in this year, under a propitious concurrence of political relations, the first Silesian war.'—*H. M.* Consummate duplicity of Frederic II. of Prussia; 'who acted with such consummate secrecy that his design was not divulged, and scarcely even suspected, when his troops entered the Austrian dominions.'—*C.*

Brief sketch of the Wars of the reign of Maria Theresa, who associates her husband, Francis (afterwards Francis I.), in the government.

* Read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. xcvi.

† The particulars of these claims are given very clearly in Heeren, *Man. of the P. S. S. of Europe*, vol. ii. Period II. pt. i. p. 10. The claims of Frederic II. to the Silesian Duchies are given at length in p. 7 of the same vol.

The 1st Silesian war from 1740-1742.

The 2nd Silesian war from 1744-1745.

The 3rd Silesian war, better known by the name of the **Seven Years' War**, from 1756-1763.

And war with the French, Saxons, and Bavarians, who overrun Lower Austria and Bohemia and take Prague in support of the cause of Charles, Elector of Bavaria, who is elected Emperor, as Charles VII.; 1742. 'On the extinction of the male line of Hapsburg in the person of Charles VI., the intrigues of the French envoy, Marshal Belleisle, procured the election of Charles Albert of Bavaria,* who stood first among the Catholic princes. His reign was a succession of misfortunes and ignominies. Driven from Munich by the Austrians, the head of the Holy Empire lived in Frankfort on the bounty of France, cursed by the country on which his ambition had brought the miseries of a protracted war.'—Br.

Secret Alliance of Nymphenberg, 1741, of France, Bavaria, Spain, and Saxony against Maria Theresa, in which Frederic II. afterwards joined. 'Maria Theresa thus, at the outset of her reign, saw more than half Europe leagued against her; and had but little reason to hope for foreign assistance. She had, then, only her own strength to trust to, which did not seem augmented by the loss of the Imperial crown (by the election of Charles VII. of Bavaria), or by the general course of the war. Charles VII. gained little by the Imperial diadem, but Austria lost a great deal.'—H. M.

The principal events of these Wars, during the reigns of Maria Theresa and of her husband, Francis of Lorraine (elected Emperor as Francis I. in 1745), were as follows; during the 1st and 2nd Silesian wars, and the war against Charles VII., the invasion of Silesia by Frederic II. and the defeat of the Austrians at Mohowitz; 1741. *Appeal of Maria Theresa to the Hungarian Diet* at Pressburg. 'She convoked the proud magnates to the Diet, and appeared among them attired in the Hungarian costume, the sacred crown upon her head, the sabre girded to her side, radiant with beauty and spirit, and called upon them, by their duty as cavaliers, to stand up in her cause. The whole assemblage, fired with enthusiasm by her charms, exclaimed with one voice, "Moriatur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!" and took the field at the head of their serfs, 30,000 cavalry and wild hordes of Pandours and Croats, which, leaving the French at Prague, moved upon Bavaria.'†—M. Treaty concluded by England

* 'The bold Bavarian, in a luckless hour,
Tries the dread summits of Cæsarian power,' &c.
Johnson, *Van. of Human Wishes*.

† —'Fair Austria spreads her mournful charms:
The Queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms.'
Johnson, *Van. of Human Wishes*.

to support Maria Theresa; 1741. **Defeat of the Austrians at Cjaslau**; Peace of Breslau and cession by Austria of nearly all Silesia; 1742. 'A sacrifice was at last made to Frederic: he was bought off by the cession of Lower Silesia and Breslau; and the Queen and her generals, thus obtaining a respite from this able and enterprising robber, were enabled to direct, and successfully direct, their efforts against the remaining hosts of plunderers that had assailed her.'—*S.* Charles of Bavaria, crowned King of Bohemia at Prague and Emperor at Frankfort; 1742. Bohemia and Upper Austria recovered by the Austrian forces, under their great generals Khevenhüller and Prince Charles of Lorraine; the French, Saxon, and Bavarian forces under Belleisle driven out; Prague surrendered to the Austrians; Belleisle's disastrous retreat; 1743. 'No European army ever experienced more dreadful sufferings: the soldiers, without any other subsistence than frozen bread, compelled to sleep on ice and snow, without a covering, and perpetually harassed by flying parties, perished in great numbers. "The roads," says the historian of Bohemia, "were dreadful to behold: they were overspread with corpses; heaps of one or two hundred men each, with their officers, were found stiffened with the frost, or dead with fatigue." He thus closed this singular expedition, in which he entered Germany as a legislator and a conqueror, at the head of 40,000 men, and returned to France, humiliated and a fugitive, with only 8,000.'—*C.* The Emperor Charles VII. is compelled to fly; Bavaria occupied by the so-called Pragmatic army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians; which, under George II. of England, in person, in support of Maria Theresa, defeats the French, under Marshal Noailles, at Dettingen* (near Aschaffenburg); 1743. 'Though the King took no part in the dispositions of this battle, he displayed great personal bravery, and several times led his cavalry and infantry to the charge.'—*C.* Alsace and Lorraine ravaged by Charles of Lorraine at the head of the Austrian forces. Fresh alliance against Austria of France, the Emperor Charles VII., the Palatinate and Hesse-Cassel, and Frederic II. of Prussia; 1744; at Frankfort. 'The fear of losing Silesia, if Austria, now leagued with Saxony, should be victorious, engaged Frederic to this measure.'—*H. M.* Invasion of Bohemia by

Read also Coxe, vol. iii. ch. ci. p. 268 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit., and the fine description of this scene in Smythe's *Lect. on Mod. Hist.*, vol. ii. lect. xxix. p. 308, extracted in the Appendix to this work. The whole of the lecture is well worth reading on this period.

* Read, on the battle, Coxe, vol. iii. ch. civ. p. 290 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit.

Frederic II. at the head of an immense army; he forces Prague to surrender; Charles VII. regains possession of Bavaria.

Fresh appeal of Maria Theresa to the Hungarians. 'she recalled the army from Alsace, and to animate the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, repaired, at the invitation of the diet, to Presburg, and roused the spirit of the nation in her defence. Count Palfy, the venerable Palatine of Hungary, set up the great red standard of the kingdom, as a signal for "a general insurrection," or universal levy: 44,000 men instantly took the field, and another body of 30,000 held themselves in readiness as an army of reserve.'—C. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of the Austrian and Saxon forces, recovers Bohemia, out of which he drives the King of Prussia: death of the Emperor Charles VII. at Munich; * 1745. Campaign in the Netherlands; bloody battle of Fontenoy; 1745; and victory of the French under Louis XV. and Marshal Saxe over the allies, British, Dutch, and Austrians, under the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Königsegg. 'Few engagements have been attended with more dreadful carnage than that of Fontenoy: both parties suffered equal loss and shared equal honour; but the result of the battle was most fatal to the allies.'—C. Campaign on borders of Silesia, between the Prussians under Frederic II., and the Austrian and Saxon army under Prince Charles of Lorraine. Peace of Füssen between Austria and Bavaria; Maximilian of Bavaria, son and successor of Charles VII., the late Emperor, resigns his claim to the Imperial crown on condition of retaining his hereditary dominions intact; 1745. *Defeat of the Austrians* under Prince Charles of Lorraine by Frederic II. at *Hohenfriedberg* † (in Silesia), and again of Prince Charles and Marshal Lobkowitz at *Sorr* † in Bohemia; 1745. Withdrawal of the English troops (in alliance with Austria) to oppose the progress of the Pretender at home. Election of Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, as

* 'The baffled prince in honour's flattering bloom
Of hasty greatness finds the fatal doom,
His foes' derision and his subjects' blame,
And steals to death from anguish and from shame.'

Johnson, *Vanity of Humane Wishes*.

† On these battles, read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cvi. pp. 315 and 320.

Francis I., Emperor, by the Diet of Frankfort; 1746; first of the House of Lorraine.* 'Maria Theresa was present on this occasion, and from a balcony testified her triumph by first crying "Long live the Emperor Francis I.!" which was re-echoed by the acclamations of the spectators. Thus she had the satisfaction of placing the Imperial crown on the head of her illustrious consort, and securing its restoration to her family, by whom it had been worn for an uninterrupted period of above 300 years.'—*C.* 'Francis, nevertheless, was merely invested with the Imperial dignity, and Maria Theresa reigned alone, aided by her subtle minister Kaunitz.'—*M.* Invasion of the Electorate of Saxony by the Prussians; *defeats of the Saxon troops* (in alliance with Austria) *at Hennersdorf* by Frederic II., and *at Kesselsdorf* by the Prince of Anhalt; 1746. Peace of Dresden between Austria and Prussia; 1746.

Continued Rise of the Power of Prussia,† under the able administration of Frederic II.

Campaign of the French under Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands: he takes Brussels and nearly all the Austrian Netherlands; defeat of the Austrians and their allies under Prince Charles of Lorraine at Raucoux; 1746. 'The retreat was ably covered by Sir John Ligonier at the head of a body of British horse.'—*C.* Campaign in the North of Italy of the Austrians and Sardinians, aided by the English fleet, against the French and Spaniards under Belleisle; Genoa taken by the Austrians and afterwards lost. *Defeat of the allies* (Austrians, Dutch, British, Hanoverians, and Hessians), under the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Cumberland, *at Lauffeld*, near Maestricht, by the French under Marshal Saxe; 1747. Taking of Bergen op Zoom by the French; 1747. Alliance of Austria with Russia, 1747. **General Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; 1748.** *The principal articles that concerned the Empire, Austria, and Prussia, were, the guarantee of Silesia and Glatz in favour of Frederic; the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction in favour of Austria; the surrender of Parma and Piacenza by Austria to Spain; Austria to retain the rest of her dominions unbroken. . . . Thus an end was put, by this peace, to the project of overthrowing the existing system of Europe by the dis-

* 'With the House of Lorraine, a new family was seated on the throne, widely different from that of Hapsburg. Spanish etiquette, together with many of the ancient maxims of government, disappeared. Little change, however, was made in the internal relations of the monarchy, though much at times was attempted.'—*H. M.*

† Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cccxxv. p. 54 *seqq.*

memberment of Austria. It lost Silesia, Parma, and Piacenza; but it kept its station as one of the great powers, and it gained, in a short time, a rich compensation for its losses, by a better use of its vast internal resources.—*H. M.*

Ministry of Count Kaunitz, chancellor of Maria Theresa, in Austria, at this period.

'After the peace of Dresden, Maria Theresa, by the advice of her minister, Count Kaunitz, employed all the arts of diplomacy for the purpose of embroiling the King of Prussia with the other European courts.'—*P.* 'The rising prosperity of Prussia, the superior talents and statesmanship of her King, and his unsparing ridicule, had gained for him the enmity of all his brother sovereigns. The mention of Silesia filled Maria Theresa alternately with rage and sorrow, and her subtle minister ingratiated himself even the more deeply in her favour by his unwearying endeavour to regain possession of that rich and fertile country.'—*M.* 'That the loss of Silesia should never be forgotten, the King of Prussia never forgiven, that his total destruction would have been the highest gratification to her, can be no subject of surprise.'—*S.*

Reforms introduced into the Imperial household by Maria Theresa,* who curtails the lavish expenditure that had prevailed under Charles VI. Formation of a new system of revenue duties for the promotion of commerce; improvement of the discipline of the armies, camps formed in the provinces, and a Military Academy founded at Vienna; improvement of the harbour of Trieste; (measures further carried out afterwards by her successor, Joseph II.). Close connection at this time between Austria, Saxony, and Russia.

Treaty of Versailles, and alliance, offensive and defensive, between Austria and France—directed against Prussia and England;† 1756; negotiated by Kaunitz. 'Austria felt that in order to subvert Prussia allies were necessary. Under these circumstances, an alliance with France was the most desirable thing for Austria, and she found a minister, who not only conceived, but attempted this project, and built his own greatness on its accomplishment. During four reigns, Prince Kaunitz was the soul of the Austrian cabinet; or rather, in possessing the joint dignities of chancellor of the court and state, he almost constructed this cabinet of himself.'—*H. M.* Austria gives up her connexion with England, and Prussia allies herself with England.‡ 'The news of the Treaty of Versailles found Frederic prepared for the event. Clearly foreseeing the certain and speedy coalition of his enemies, he deter-

* For more see Cox, vol. iii. ch. cix. p. 343 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit.

† The object and terms of the Treaty of Versailles are very clearly given in Menzel, vol. iii. ch. ccxxxv. p. 57.

‡ On these transactions read Cox, vol. iii. chs. cx., cxl., Bohn's edit.

mined to be the first in the field, and to surprise them ere they had time to coalesce. The intended partition of Prussia in 1756 was equally just with that of Austria in 1741. Frederic's sole resource lay in his genius, and in this alone he confided for success, as he courageously unfurled his flag before Austria had armed, or war had been declared by France.'—*M.*

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA: IT LASTS FROM 1756-1763.

The Allies of Prussia, England, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Gotha, and Lippe.

The Allies of Austria, Russia, Saxony, Bavaria, and the rest of the Empire, bribed and subsidised by France. 'Frederic's enemies intended to bring against him a force of 500,000 men, to surround and crush him. This force, however, had still to be levied: the object of Frederic's whole policy was the prevention of the coalition of the forces of his opponents in order to attack them singly.'—*M.*

The war commences with the invasion and conquest of Saxony by Frederic; the taking of Dresden, and the *defeat of the Austrians* under General Browne at *Lowositz* and the capitulation to the King of the Saxon army at *Pirna*; 1756. 'If the first Silesian war on Frederic's side was an offensive one, the Seven Years' War, although he first drew the sword, was strictly defensive; but the laurels he earned are the more imperishable, the less he was the favourite of fortune.'—*H. M.*

Principal battles of the Seven Years' War, were, the *battle of Prague*, 1757 (victory of Frederic over the Imperialists under Prince Charles of Lorraine and General Browne); *battle of Kollin* (defeat of Frederic by the Austrians under Marshal Daun). 'In vain the King of Prussia exerted all his skill and courage in this desperate conflict: his cavalry charged six times, and were six times repulsed: Frederic again rallied them, and finding them dispirited, exclaimed, "Would you live for ever!" They were a seventh time led to the charge, and were again driven back. The troops, for the first time defeated, gave way to despondency, and in their retreat exclaimed, "This is our Pultawa!"'—*C.* *Battle of Hastenbeck*, in the territory of *Hannover* (defeat of the allies of Frederic, English and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Cumberland, by the French, allied with Austria, under Marshal d'Estrées); disgraceful Convention of *Closter-Seeven*, by which Cumberland agreed to disband his troops. Invasion and frightful devastation of Prussia by the Russians and Swedes in alliance with Austria;

battle of Grossjägerndorf (defeat of the Prussians under General Lewald by the Russians under Marshal Apraxin). *Great battle of Rossbach*,* on the plain of Leipzig (glorious victory of Frederic, with 22,000 Prussians, over the combined Imperialist and French army of 64,000 men, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen and Marshal Soubise). 'For this complete victory over the ill-assorted and badly-offered masses of his adversaries, Frederic was mainly indebted to a desperate charge made by General Seidlitz at the head of his cavalry.'—P. 'As completely and easily as Napoleon defeated the Prussians at Jena, did Frederic the Great defeat the French at Rossbach.'†—A. 'The two armies met on the 5th of November, on the broad plain around Leipzig, near the village of Rossbach, not far from the scene of the famous encounters of earlier times. The enemy, three times superior in number to the Prussians, lay in a half-circle with a view of surrounding the little Prussian camp, and, certain of victory, had encumbered themselves with a numerous train of women, wig-makers, barbers, and modistes from Paris. The French camp was one scene of confusion and gaiety. On a sudden, Frederic sent General Seidlitz with his cavalry amongst them, and an instant dispersion took place, the troops flying in every direction without attempting to defend themselves; some Swiss, who refused to yield, alone excepted. The Germans on both sides showed their delight at the discomfiture of the French. An Austrian coming to the rescue of a Frenchman, who had just been captured by a Prussian, "Brother German," exclaimed the latter, "let me have this French rascal." "Take him and keep him," replied the Austrian, riding off. The scene more resembled a chase than a battle. The Imperial army (*Reichsarmee*) was thence nicknamed the runaway army (*Reissausarmee*). Ten thousand French were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the Prussians merely amounted to 160 men. The booty chiefly consisted in objects of gallantry belonging rather to a boudoir than to a camp. The French army perfectly resembled its mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour.'*—M. *Battle of Breslau* (the Prussians under the Prince of Bevern defeated, after a desperate engagement, by the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine). Nearly the whole of Silesia recovered by the Imperialists. *Battle of Leuthen*, near Lissa (great defeat of the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine by Frederic II.), and capture of Breslau, with its garrison. 'Thus by one imprudent action of Prince Charles, Maria Theresa lost 50,000

* Read Dr. Arnold's *Lect. on Hist.*, lect. iv. p. 156 *seqq.*, on the question, in reference to which the battles of Jena and Rossbach are referred to by him, 'whether history justifies the belief of an inherent superiority in some races of men over others, or whether such differences are only accidental and temporary, and we are to acquiesce in the judgment of King Archidamus, that one man naturally differs little from another, but that culture and training makes the distinction.'

† For more on this wonderful victory, read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxli. p. 382 *seqq.*, Bohn's edit.

men, and, what was of still greater consequence, the troops lost their confidence in their own bravery and numbers, which had been the cause of their late success, and which it required all the prudence of Daun to restore.'—*C.* 'They met at the village of Leuthen, near the woods of Lissa, on the 5th of December; and thus this greatest of Frederick's battles is known by either name. This was no sudden rout like that of Rosbach. The Austrians fought bravely; but the genius of the Prussian leader gave him a mighty victory, which Napoleon said was of itself sufficient to place Frederick in the rank of the greatest of generals. When this wonderful campaign shall come to be described by an historian equal to the theme, we may perhaps understand the meaning of the words, "There were great kings before Napoleon." The writer (Carlyle, *Friedrich II.* vol. i. p. 10) to whom this task is allotted has briefly told us what he thinks of Rosbach and Leuthen: "Austerlitz and Wagram shot away more gunpowder—gunpowder probably in the proportion of ten to one, or a hundred to one; but neither of them was tenth part such a beating to your enemy as that of Rosbach, brought about by strategic art, human ingenuity, and intrepidity, and the loss of 478 men. Leuthen too, the battle of Leuthen (though so few English readers ever heard of it), may very well hold up its head beside any victory gained by Napoleon or another. For the odds were not far from three to one; the soldiers were of not far from equal quality; and only the general was consummately superior, and the defeat a destruction."—*K. P. H.* The French are driven by the allied forces of English, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, and Hessians, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who replaced the Duke of Cumberland in the command, out of Lauenburg, and the Imperialists retreat from Silesia; * 1757.

Frederic compelled to raise the siege of Olmütz and to quit Moravia, which he had invaded, by the Imperialists, under General Laudon, who, with Marshal Daun, succeeded Prince Charles of Lorraine in the command. 'Charles of Lorraine, weary of his unvarying ill-luck, resigned the command, and was nominated Stadtholder of the Netherlands, where he gained great popularity.'—*M.* Advance of the great Russian army, in alliance with the Empress Maria Theresa, under General Fermor; 'murdering and burning on their route, and converting Küstrin, which refused to yield, into a heap of rubbish, and threatening Berlin.'—*M.* *Battle of Zorndorf* (defeat of the Russians under General Fermor, with the loss of 19,000 men, by Frederic II., who himself loses 11,000). 'The battle was carried with the greatest fury on both sides: no quarter was given, and men were seen, when mortally wounded, to seize each other with their teeth as they rolled fighting on the ground. Some of the captured Cossacks were presented by Frederick to some of his friends with the remark, "See, with vagabonds I am reduced to fight!"'—*M.*

* The reflections on the campaign of 1757, in Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxlii. p. 387 *seqq.*, are well worth reading.

Battle of Hochkirch, near Bautzen, in Lusatia (surprise and defeat of the Prussians under Frederic by the Imperialists under Daun and Laudon; Marshal Keith killed). 'Notwithstanding this brilliant action, Daun did not abate his characteristic caution, aware of the steadiness of the Prussian infantry, the inexhaustible resources of the King, and the rapidity of his movements. Though the victory filled the court in Vienna with the most lively joy, and honours and emoluments were lavished on the commander-in-chief, yet the defeat of the Prussians was not followed by any considerable advantage.'—C. *Battle of Crefeld*, near Düsseldorf (defeat of the French under General Clermont by the allies (of Prussia), Hessians and Hanoverians, under Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick). 'The campaign of 1758 was carried on in the East by the King in person, against the Austrians and Russians, whose union he effectually prevented; and in the West by his allies under Duke Ferdinand, who with great ability covered the right flank of the Prussians, and manœuvred the French from the Elbe across the Rhine.'—P. Frederic II. eludes the pursuit of Marshal Daun, and drives the Austrians under General Harsch out of Silesia; 1758.

Battle of Bergen, near Frankfort on the Maine (defeat of the allies of Prussia, under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, by the French under Broglio and Contades). *Battle of Züllichau*, on the Oder (defeat of the Prussians under General Weddel, by the Russians, in alliance with Austria, under Soltikow). Junction of the Russian army with the Austrian under Marshal Laudon. While Frederic is collecting his forces, and at the head of 40,000 advancing to meet the combined Russian and Austrian armies of 80,000 men, his allies fight the *battle of Minden* (brilliant victory of the allies of Prussia, English, Hanoverians, Hessians, &c., under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, over the French under Broglio and Contades). *Great battle of Kunersdorf* near Frankfort on the Oder (defeat of Frederic by the Russians under Soltikow and the Austrians under Laudon). 'Frederic, with a few pieces of cannon and a single regiment, exposed his person to protect the retreat of his troops; two horses were killed under him: his clothes were pierced with musket-balls; he received a slight contusion, and was only rescued by the exertions of the hussars. Favoured by the approach of night, he succeeded in saving the remnant of the army, and again took post on the same ground which he had occupied before the engagement with scarcely more than 1,000 men. He lost in this desperate conflict 20,000 of his bravest troops, with all his artillery; but the allied army had little reason to exult in their success;

for not less than 24,000 men on their side were killed and wounded, and Soltikow declared, that on such another victory, the loss having fallen almost entirely on the Russians, he must go alone, with his truncheon in his hand, to carry the news to St. Petersburg.—C. The King is saved by the

dissensions between the Russians and the Austrians; Soltikow refusing to follow up his success or to pursue the

Prussians. 'Had the conqueror listened to the advice of Laudon, and marched at once to Berlin, the ruin of Prussia would have been accomplished; but it seems probable that he had received secret instructions which prevented his adopting this course.'—P. *Battle of Minden* † (bril-

liant victory of the allies of Prussia, British and Hanoverians, under Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick, over the French under Contades and Broglie). 'On the colours of our English 12th,

20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st regiments is inscribed the name of Minden. A small detachment of the Hanoverians and English appeared before Minden, exposed, as it appeared to the French officers, to inevitable destruction. The two French generals having united their forces, made repeated attacks upon the solid English and Hanoverian infantry. Again and again they were driven back, and at last the French generals commanded a retreat. The cavalry under Lord George Sackville had not been engaged. Ferdinand sent him orders to charge the French before they could rally. Sackville would not understand the messages brought to him by three aides-de-camp, two of whom were English. The opportunity was lost for the entire rout of the enemy; although the victory was complete as far as it went, and in spite of Sackville, Minden was a British triumph.'—K. P. H. The King

(Frederic II.) recovers from his great discomfiture at Kunersdorf, 'rises like the hydra with a new strength from his defeat,' and in a few days was at the head of 28,000 men, and covered his capital and Brandenburg. Dresden taken by the Imperial army under Daun, aided by an Austrian force under General Guasco. *Battle of Maren* (defeat of the Prussians under General Fink by Marshal Daun and capture of the whole Prussian army of 14,900 men, seventeen generals, and seventeen pieces of cannon). Frightful sufferings of both armies during the winter campaign; 1759.

Battle of Landshut (defeat of the Prussians under General Fouqué by the Austrians under Laudon); fruitless siege of

* On the inconsistent conduct of the Russian generals in this war, and the possible cause of it, the fear of rendering themselves obnoxious to the future Emperor (Peter III.), read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cxxxvi. p. 66. Confer also Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxiv. p. 402.

† Read, on the battle of Minden, Knight's *Pop. H. of England*, vol. vi. ch. xv. p. 236, from whence the extract in the text is taken.

Dresden by Frederic. *Battle of Pfaffendorf* (defeat of the Austrian army under Laudon by Frederic). *Battle of Torgau* (great victory of the Prussians, under Frederic, over the Imperialists under Daun); by which the King is enabled to regain possession of the whole of Saxony except Dresden. 'This bloody action, by which the Prussian monarchy was saved, took place on November 3.'—*M.* 'In this engagement the Austrians lost 30,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the Prussians 13,000 of their bravest infantry.'—*C.* Indecisive actions in Cassel and Westphalia between the allies of Prussia and the French; 1760.

Defensive campaign of the King against the united armies of the Imperialists and Russians, 130,000 strong. The dissensions between Butterlin, the Russian general, and Laudon prevent a combined attack on the King. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz taken by Laudon under the eyes of the King. The King maintains himself in Saxony, and Ferdinand at the head of the allies of Prussia in Hanover; 1761.

'The death in the beginning of this year, 1762, of the Empress Elizabeth deprived Frederic of his bitterest enemy; and in her nephew and successor, Peter III., he had as great a friend. This led not only to a separate peace, which was immediately followed by another with Sweden, but even an alliance; and Europe saw with astonishment the unprecedented spectacle of an army leaving its allies, and marching over to the camp of its enemies.'—*H. M.* The Russians under Chernichef join the King; but are recalled six months afterwards by the Empress Catherine II. of Russia (who succeeds to the throne on the assassination of Peter II.), just after the *battle of Burkersdorf* (defeat of the Imperialists under Daun by Frederic). Schweidnitz retaken, after a gallant defence, by the King. 'Thus terminated the campaign in Silesia, by which the Austrians irrecoverably lost that valuable province.'—*C.* *Battle of Freiburg* (defeat of the Imperialists under General Haddick by Prince Henry, brother of Frederic II.). Bohemia and Saxony ravaged by the Prussians. The French are baffled and harassed by the allies of Prussia under Ferdinand of Brunswick. **The Peace of Paris, 1763,** between France, Spain, and England, is followed by the **Peace of Hubertsburg,** between the Empire, Austria, and Prussia; 1763. 'The German Empire had already declared itself neutral, and was included in the peace. Only Prussia, Austria, and Saxony now remained in a state of warfare. But what

could Austria expect to accomplish by herself? especially as (besides Frederic's last victories) all her hopes of Silesia were blighted by the conquest of Schweidnitz. The negotiations for a peace were easy to arrange, for neither party coveted aggrandisement or compensation; and Frederic concluded the glorious Peace of Hubertsburg, without having lost a foot of territory.—*H. M.*

HENCEFORTH PRUSSIA TAKES RANK AS ONE of the FIVE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS, AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IS PRACTICALLY DIVIDED INTO THE TWO GREAT MONARCHIES OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA; WHICH, TILL THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, HOLD THE BALANCE OF POWER ON THE CONTINENT. 'This war, and the peace which terminated it, confirmed the European System as established. Prussia and Austria remained the two first Continental powers; neither the distant Russia, nor the weakened France, enchained by Austria, could make the least pretension to this distinction.'—*H. M.* 'In the Seven Years' War, the whole might of the Empire broke in vain against one resolute member. Prussia, under Frederick, appeared herself at least a match for France and Austria leagued against her, and the appearance of unity which the predominance of a single power had hitherto given to the Empire was replaced by the avowed rivalry of two military monarchies.' *—*Br.*

The Archduke Joseph, son of Maria Theresa, elected King of the Romans, 1764; and on his father's (Francis I.) death, Emperor as Joseph II.; and co-Regent with his mother; 1765. Frederic II. † occupies the Prussian throne till 1786; he repairs the ravages and devastations Prussia had undergone in the seven years by his able administration, introducing new settlers, and encouraging manufactures, arts, and agriculture. Prussia becomes, *par excellence*, the land of the potato; though equally perhaps deserving the name of the land of drill and of Royal monopolies.

Various wild and rash schemes of reform brought forward by Joseph II.; (afterwards carried out by him, but attended

* On the enormous waste of blood and treasure in the Seven Years' War, in which, with the Silesian Wars, probably not less than 1,000,000 of human beings lost their lives, read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxvii., &c.

† On Frederic II.'s able administration during peace, read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cxxxvii. p. 72 *seqq.*, and Heeren, *Manual of the Stat. Syst. of Mod. Europe*, vol. ii. period ii. sect. i. p. 75 *seqq.*

with ultimate failure, when sole Emperor, after his mother's death). Austria increases in wealth and resources during the peace following the Seven Years' War, interrupted only by the short War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778 (consequent of the death of Maximilian Joseph, the last of the Electoral line), against Prussia and Saxony; concluded by the Peace of Teschen, 1779, in which Austria gives up her claim to Bavaria, receiving the district between the Salza, the Inn, and the Danube, and thereby acquiring direct communication with her Tyrolese dominions. By the **First Partition of Poland, 1772** (a project originated by Russia and carried out by her, Prussia, and Austria; Catharine II., Joseph II., and Frederic II.), Austria obtained, in addition to the county of Zips, Galicia and Lodomeria; while Prussia acquired the province of the Lower Vistula under the name of Western Prussia, and Russia seized by far the largest share, almost the whole of Lithuania. 'The guilt of the three parties to the partition was very unequal. Frederic, the weakest, had most to apprehend, both from a rupture with his ally, and from the accidents of general war; while, on the other hand, some enlargement seemed requisite to the defence of his dominions. The House of Austria entered late and reluctantly into the conspiracy, which she probably might have escaped if France had been under a more vigorous government. Catharine was the great criminal. She had for eight years oppressed, betrayed, and ravaged Poland—imposed a King on that country—prevented all reformation of the government—fomented divisions among the nobility—and, in one word, created and maintained that anarchy which she at length used as a pretence for dismemberment. Monstrous as the transaction was, it is evident that, whoever first proposed it, Catharine was the real cause and author of the whole. This blame, which she was daring enough to take on herself, will blacken her memory in the eyes of the latest posterity; and should any historian, dazzled by the splendour of her reign, or more excusably seduced by her genius—her love of letters—her efforts in legislation—and her real services to her subjects, labour to palliate this great offence, he will only share her infamy in the vain attempt to extenuate her guilt.'—*E. R.*

* For an admirable summary of the history of the three partitions of Poland, read the beautiful article whence the above is extracted in the *Edinb. Rev.* vol. xxxvii. for Nov. 1822. It is given entire in that most useful book, Maurice Cross's *Selections from the Edinb. Rev.* vol. ii. p. 243-292. There is another article bearing on the same subject, 'The Appeal of the Poles,' in the *Edinb. Rev.* vol. xxii. No. for Jan. 1814. There is a beautiful article on the Empress Catharine II. in the vol. called *Historical Studies*, by Herm. Merivale, from which I have given an extract in the Appendix.

Death of Maria Theresa. **Joseph II.**, her son, sole **Emperor**; 1780. Sweeping reforms introduced by the Emperor both in Church and State: edict of universal toleration to all forms of religions except the Deists; 1781. Emancipation of the Jews; abolition of the begging orders of Friars, and closing of a vast number of monasteries; all Papal bulls declared void unless endorsed by the 'placet regium,' and the monastic orders subjected to the authority of the bishops. Equally violent and sweeping reforms extended to the State, meeting everywhere with the like opposition; feudal vassalage abolished; freedom of the Press established; a university and schools founded in each province; reforms in courts of justice; abolition of the punishment of death, and edict promulgated for the regulation of the Taxes.* 'The Emperor Joseph II., a sort of philosophizing, than whom few have more narrowly missed greatness, made a desperate effort to set things right, striving to restore the disordered finances, to purge and vivify the Imperial Chamber. Nay, he renounced the intolerant policy of his ancestors, quarrelled with the Pope, and presumed to visit Rome, whose streets heard once more the shout that had been silent for three centuries, 'Evviva il nostro imperatore!' But his indiscreet haste was met by a sullen resistance, and he died disappointed in plans for which the time was not yet ripe, leaving no result save the league of princes which Frederick II. of Prussia had formed to oppose his designs on Bavaria.'—*Dr. Formation*, at the instance of the King of Prussia, of the **Germanic Union**, or Confederation of the Princes and States (*'Deutscher Fürstenbund'*); 1785; 'for maintaining the indivisibility of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective States in particular; which, under the pretext of preserving the constitution of the Empire, became a formidable bar to the encroachments of the House of Austria.'—*C. PRUSSIA BECOMES HENCEFORTH THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL SYSTEM.*

Discontent in Hungary, and insurrection of the Nobles against the reforms that the Emperor attempted to introduce. Unfortunate war with the Turks, 1788–1791; who ravage the Banat and part of Hungary; *the Emperor him-*

* Read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxxiv.; or Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cccxxviii.; and particularly the Essay on Joseph II. in Merivale's *Historical Studies*; from which see extract in Appendix.

self defeated at Caransebas near Temeswar; but the honour of his arms is retrieved by the Prince of Coburg and Marshal Laudon, aided by the Russians under Marshal Suwarrow, who win the victories of *Fotzain* and *Rymnik*, 'a stupendous victory over the Grand Vizier and a vast and ill-organised multitude,' and retake Belgrade. Revolt in Belgium, owing to the innovations introduced by the Emperor; the revolted provinces declare themselves independent,* and expel the Austrian troops. Revocation of the Reforms lately promulgated in Hungary; restoration of the constitution of the country that had been disregarded since 1765; joy of the Hungarians at receiving back the crown of St. Stephen that had been carried to Vienna. 'Conquered at last, Joseph had to withdraw reforms and restore privileges with even greater precipitation than he had evinced in the first part of his reign. His revocation in 1789 of his unconstitutional acts affecting the kingdom of Hungary was perhaps the most painful sacrifice he ever made. "Non de nobis sine nobis" was the proud maxim of the Hungarian magnates, and they now enjoyed to their hearts' content the victory of obstinate conservatism over the reforming autocrat. They returned to the full inheritance of their venerable and most obstructive constitution. The saying attributed to Thiers, that "self-government means the privilege of doing badly for yourself what others could do well for you," seems as if it were uttered on purpose for this chivalrous nation. The liberated Magyars made bonfires of all the plans, drawings, and registers of the attempted land-surveys, drove away the police, and obliterated the street numbers which had been painted on their houses. Philosopher as Joseph was, or thought himself, his compulsory abandonment of one outward sign of Empire by restoring to Buda the Crown of Hungary, which he had in an arbitrary way removed from it, seemed to inflict on him the heaviest blow of all. He could not survive his broken hopes and outraged authority. By whatever name his last disease might pass in the physician's catalogue, the true cause, a broken heart, was plain enough to all. "Here lies Joseph II." (is his well-known self-composed epitaph), "who failed in everything he undertook." They were the words of disappointment, not of truth. It is not too much to say, that, if his people would have allowed their sovereign to carry into execution his designs, which they called his dreams, Austria would now have been the most powerful and happiest of European communities.'—*Her. Mer. H. S.* 'The Emperor on hearing that even the peasantry, on whom he had attempted to bestow such immense benefits, had risen against him, he exclaimed, "I shall die; I must be made of wood if this does not kill me!" and three weeks after he expired, after revoking his most important reforms for the sake of avoiding having recourse to extreme measures. He died at Vienna in 1790, as Jellenz observed, "a century too early," and, as Ramez said, "mistaken by a people unworthy of such a sovereign."†—*M.*

* Read Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxxix.

† Read, on the character of Joseph II., Coxe, vol. iii. ch. cxxiv., and Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cxxviii.

During the latter part of this monarch's reign, the **French Revolution** * commenced. Execution of Louis XVI. of France, whose wife was the beautiful and accomplished Maria Antonia, daughter of Maria Theresa and sister of Joseph II. (named by the French Marie Antoinette); 1793. His marriage had been solemnised when he was the Dauphin, in 1770.

Death of Frederic II. of Prussia; 1786. 'The mixed character of human nature seldom affords, when all its propensities are drawn out by circumstances, any proper theme for the entire and unqualified praises of a moralist; but everything is pardoned to Maria Theresa when she is compared, as she must constantly be, with her great rival Frederic. Errors and faults we can overlook when they are those of our common nature; intractability, impetuosity, lofty pride, superstition, even bigotry, and impatience of wrongs, furious and implacable—all these, the faults of Maria Theresa, may be forgiven, may at least be understood. But Frederic had no merits, save courage and ability: these, great as they are, cannot reconcile us to a character with which we can have no sympathy; of which the beginning, the middle, and the end, the foundation and the essence, was entire, unceasing, inextinguishable, concentrated selfishness.' †—S. He is succeeded by

Frederic William II. (his nephew), **King of Prussia;** 1786; in whose weak and irresolute policy, the government of Prussia being entrusted to weak and incompetent ministers, who encouraged the King's fondness for the fair sex, his inclination to bigotry, and his belief in apparitions, and in whose profuse expenditure, may be traced the germ of the disasters that soon overtook the kingdom.‡ 'Though the death of Frederic the Great, occurring in a period of profound quiet, produced no immediate perceptible consequences, as his successor retained his ministers, yet the chasm he left was far too great for those consequences not to disclose themselves soon. The chief relations of Europe had been formed by his mind, and maintained by his character; but the latter was inherited by his successor still less than the former. And Frederic had never formed a minister who was competent to take the direction.'—H. M.

COMMENCEMENT, ABOUT THIS TIME, OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA, which may be dated

* For a brief abstract of the leading events of the French Revolution, and the wars that arose from it, see my *Analysis of the History of England and France*, p. 102 *seqq.* edit. 6th. Longmans and Co.

† Read, on the other side, Carlyle's *Frederic the Great*.

‡ Read, on the character of Frederic William II., Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cxxxix.

from the death of Frederic the Great; 1786. 'Though the death of Frederic the Great was not an event that constituted a general epoch, it was, however, immediately followed by those great convulsions of States which gave the ensuing period a character so different from the former. The contemporary world, which lived in it, calls it the revolutionary; but it is as yet too early to decide with what name it will be denoted by posterity, after the lapse of a century. Probably the constitutional; for the struggle after regular but free constitutions is the thread that guides us through the whole confusion.'—*H. M.*

Leopold II. (brother of the late Emperor Joseph II.), Emperor; previously King of Bohemia and Hungary; 1790; restores tranquillity throughout his dominions by abolishing the violent changes introduced by Joseph II. 'His successor, Leopold II., abandoned the projected reforms, and a calm, the calm before the hurricane, settled down upon Germany. The existence of the Empire was almost forgotten by its subjects: there was nothing to remind them of it but a feudal investiture now and then at Vienna (real feudal rights were obsolete); a concourse of solemn old lawyers at Wetlar engaged upon interminable suits; and some thirty diplomatists at Regensburg, the relics of that Imperial Diet where a hero-king, a Frederic or a Henry, enthroned amid mitred prelates and steel-clad barons, had issued laws for every tribe from the Mediterranean to the Baltic.'—*Br.* The Emperor recovers the Netherlands from the insurgents by force, by occupying the country with his troops, and restores tranquillity by granting an amnesty and the confirmation of their respective constitutions, privileges, and customs to the several provinces; 1791.

The Conference of Pillnitz. League between the Emperor Leopold and Frederic William, King of Prussia, against the French Revolution; and declaration of their readiness to aid Louis XVI. The League was strongly opposed by the old ministers, Herzberg, of Prussia, and Kaunitz, of Austria; 1791. 'Austria was insulted in the person of the French Queen, and, as head of the Empire, was bound to protect the rights of the petty Rhenish princes and nobility, who possessed property and ecclesiastical or feudal rights on French territory, and had been injured by the new constitution. Prussia, habituated to despotism, came forward as its champion in the hope of gaining new laurels for her unemployed army.'—*M.* 'A political structure like the ancient French could hardly be thrown down at once, without injuring others. The first loss befel the German Empire, by the abolition of feudal rights. Several princes who had possessions in Alsace lost theirs, and the Emperor and the Empire took their part.'—*H. M.*

Increasing violence of the Jacobin party in France: they

determine to declare war against the Empire: reply of Kaunitz to their arrogant demand, 'that the Emperor should renounce all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty and safety of the French nation.'—*C.*

DEPRAVITY AND DEGRADED CONDITION OF THE MINOR GERMAN COURTS DURING THE ABOVE PERIOD, FROM THE PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG, 1763, TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789. Luxury, extravagance, waste, debauchery, and bad government run their course in Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, Bayreuth, and in the Ecclesiastical States, Münster, Spire, Liege, and Treves. Weimar and Baden, almost alone, among all the other petty States, present an honourable contrast. 'Meanwhile the most terrible abuses were committed in the minor States, where they attracted less notice. The follies perpetrated in almost all the petty countships, several of which were gradually raised to principalities, are perfectly incredible. The ecclesiastical estates were, if possible, worse administered than the temporal ones, and the ecclesiastical courts had long fallen into the lowest depths of depravity.'—*M.* 'National spirit and feeling seemed gone from princes and people alike.'—*Br.*

The last days of the Empire approach. 'The princes, powerful or weak, great or petty, had each now assumed sovereign sway. The bond of union between them and the Empire became daily more and more fragile. Ratisbon, although still the seat of the Diet, was no longer visited by the Emperor or by the princes. All affairs of moment were transacted by the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Munich, &c.; the members of the Diet occupied themselves with empty formalities, such as precedence at table, the colour, form, and position of their seats in the Diet. The Church played a most lamentable part: the ecclesiastical princes gave way to the most open profligacy, and Rome was deprived of her ancient support in the German Empire by the abolition of the Order of Jesus, and by the reforms of Joseph II. The cities had lost all political power. The Collegium of the Imperial free towns had lost all its influence. The Imperial Chamber of the Empire, which still sat at Wetzlar, far from guaranteeing the slightest legal protection to the German people, had gradually become completely absorbed with formalities; and the same may be said of the Imperial Aulic Council at Vienna.'—*M.* 'But while they talked, the heavens darkened, and the flood came and destroyed them all.'—*Br.*

Ferment among the Jacobin party in Germany. Insurrections and revolts of the peasantry in various places. Death of the Emperor Leopold II., February 27, 1792.

* Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. ccxii.

* While the great tempest was gathering in France, Leopold himself was no more. In three days he was hurried by malignant dysentery to an untimely grave, leaving his dominions in a state of more serious danger than even when he assumed the reins of empire.'—*M.*

Francis II., son of Leopold II., Emperor; 1792.

France declares war against Austria. 'The Jacobins had now acquired the predominance in the second National Convention of France, and the subversion of the throne was the object in view. They felt that a foreign war was necessary for their projects (what policy could from this time have averted it?), and Austria was their nearest aim. Louis XVI. was obliged to yield; and accordingly he declared war on Austria.'—*H. M.*

The Austrians at first successful. The conduct of the war is committed by Francis II. to his ally, Frederic William II. of Prussia, whom he promises to aid with detachments of Austrian troops. Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick leads a combined force of Prussians and Russians, reinforced by Hessians and French emigrants under Condé, across the Rhine; invades Champagne and takes Longwy and Verdun; July 1792. His famous manifesto. He is *defeated at Valmy* by Dumourier and Kellermann and forced to retreat. 'A retreat which dysentery, bad weather, and bad roads rendered extremely destructive.'—*M.* 'Thus was dissolved that splendid army which a few months before had entered France with such brilliant prospects, and by which, if properly directed, might have been achieved the deliverance of Europe from the scourge of democratic ambition. What a multitude of evils would such an early exertion have saved; the French conscription, the campaign of Moscow, the rout of Leipsic, the blood of millions, the treasures of ages!'—*A. F. R.*

Battle of Jemappes (defeat of the Austrians under Albert Duke of Saxon-Teschen, son-in-law of Maria Theresa, and Stadtholder of the Austrian Netherlands, by Dumourier); conquest of the Austrian Netherlands by the French; and plunder of the country. Mayence taken by the French under Custine; 1792.

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST FRANCE;

* after that France had declared war against England (for refusing to recognise the Republic), the Stadtholder, and Spain.' **FIRST COALITION AGAINST FRANCE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, HOLLAND, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, TUSCANY, SARDINIA, and ENGLAND; 1793.**

'As the founder and the head of these combinations, history has only to mention William Pitt. His name lives in the annals of Great Britain, and in the history of Europe.'—*H. M.* 'The sove-

reigns of Europe prepared for war and formed the first great coalition, at whose head stood England, intent upon the destruction of the French navy. The Spanish and Portuguese troops crossed the Pyrenees; the Italian princes invaded the Alpine boundary; Austria, Prussia, Holland, and the German Empire threatened the Rhenish frontier; while Sweden and Russia stood frowning in the background. The whole of Christian Europe took up arms against France, and enormous armies hovered, like vultures, around their prey. Meanwhile the French had armed themselves with all the terrors of offended nationalism and of unbounded intoxicating liberty. All the enemies of the Revolution within the French territory were mercilessly exterminated; the King was guillotined in the January of 1793, and the Queen shared a similar fate in the ensuing October. Whilst Robespierre directed the executions, Carnot, in the midst of this immense fermentation, calmly converted France into an enormous camp, and more than a million Frenchmen, as if summoned by magic from the clouds, were placed under arms.—*M.*

The allies capture Valenciennes. The French general Custine executed.

[During this year, 1793, the **Second Partition of Poland** by Prussia and Russia only. 'Austria, at this time fully occupied with France, had no participation in this robbery, which was, as it were, committed behind her back.'—*M.* 'Prussia acquires Thorn, Dantzic, and Great Poland or Southern Prussia (Posen and Kalisch).' Gallant resistance of the Poles, under Kosciuszko, against the Prussian and Russian armies, during the next year; storm of Cracow by the Prussians under King Frederic William II., and of Praga, the suburb of Warsaw, by the Russians under Suwarrow; 1794. Third and final Partition of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia; 1795; 'by which Austria gains Western Galicia, with Lublin and Cracow; Russia, Courland, Lithuania, and Volhynia; Prussia, Warsaw, Bialystock, and their territories.'—*O. C. T.* 'The Vistula to separate Prussia and Austria; the Bug, Austria and Russia; and the Niemen, Prussia and Russia.'—*P.*]*

War of the First Coalition against France† from 1793 to the Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797, including the re-conquest of the Netherlands by the Austrians, and defeats of the French at Aldenhoven and Neerwinden

* Read, on the three Partitions of Poland, the *Reviews*, referred to in note on the year 1772; and for a connected history of the Second Partition and its consequences, Alison's *Hist. of the French Revol.* vol. ii. ch. xvii. For a brief sketch, Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cxxlviii. p. 174, and ch. cxxlix. p. 184.

† On the whole of this period, from 1789–1815, Alison's work, *Hist. of the French Revolution*, is well known. Besides Menzel's *History of Germany*, Lockhart's two very pretty volumes, *Life of Napoleon*, in the *Family Library*, will, as a work of moderate compass, well repay the reader. The chapters on the period in Knight's *Pop. Hist. of England* are very clear and graphic, though not so full as those in the *Pictorial Hist. of England*.

and defection of Dumourier; the defence of Dunkirk by Hocke; his defeat of the Austrians in Alsace; re-organisation of the French army by Carnot, and *defeats of the Austrians* under the Duke of Coburg by Jourdan at *Wattignies* and *Fleurus*, and of the English under the Duke of York at Hondschoote: the Netherlands re-conquered by France. Conquest of Holland by the French under Pichegru. Campaign on the Middle and Upper Rhine; *indecisive battles of Kaiserslautern*; 1793 and 1794.

Defection of Prussia from the Coalition. Prussia concludes the separate **Peace of Basle** with France.* 'The seeds of dissension had already sprung up among the allies. Besides the distrust of Austria and Prussia, there was in the case of Prussia an exhaustion so rapid and complete that it can hardly be explained even by the extravagant management of Frederic William II. Not a fourth of the army had been used, and yet before quite two years were passed, debts had taken the place of a full treasury.'—*H. M.* The French are victorious on the Spanish frontier. **Loss of the left bank of the Rhine.** Austria is left almost alone to maintain the struggle against France; Sardinia and Tuscany, and England (by sea), her only allies. 'The Empire slothfully cast the whole burden of the war on Austria. Many of the princes were terror-stricken by the French, whilst others meditated an alliance with that power, like that formerly concluded between them and Louis XIV. against the Empire. Bavaria alone was, but with great difficulty, induced to furnish a contingent.'—*M.* Separate Peace concluded by Tuscany and Spain with the French Republic. The Lower Rhenish provinces frightfully plundered by the French. Successful campaign of the Austrians under Clairfait and Wurmsier on the Rhine against the French under Moreau and Jourdan; 1795.

THREEFOLD ATTACK ON AUSTRIA BY THE ARMIES OF THE FRENCH DIRECTORY at the suggestion of Carnot. 'Austria remained unshaken and conscious of the righteousness of the cause she upheld, she intrepidly stood her ground, and ventured her single strength in the mighty contest, which the campaign of 1796 was to decide. The Austrian forces in Germany were commanded by the Emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles; those in Italy by Beaulieu. The French, on the other hand, sent Jourdan to the Lower Rhine, Moreau to the Upper Rhine, Buonaparte to Italy, and commenced the attack on every point with their wonted impetuosity.'—*M.* Campaigns of the

* On the Treaty of Basle, and the secret articles it contained, read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. ccxlix. p. 187.

Archduke Charles against Moreau, Jourdan, and Bernadotte. The French advance as far as the frontiers of Bohemia, and levy enormous contributions on the Suabian and Franconian circles, and pillage the country without mercy. Great hopes entertained of the Archduke Charles.* *Victory of the Archduke at Kloster-Altenberg*, and of the French at *Rothensee and Wildbad*: decisive victories of the Archduke at *Bamberg and Würzburg* over Jourdan; advance of Moreau into Bavaria; *victory of the French* over the Bavarians under General Latour at *Lechhausen*; enormous contributions levied by the French on Bavaria; Moreau's famous retreat through the Black Forest to avoid being cut off by the Archduke; 1796.

NAPOLÉON'S CAMPAIGN DURING THE SAME YEAR, 1796, IN ITALY; against Beaulieu, Colli, Alvinzi, and Wurmser. Wurmser fails by dividing his forces. *Victories of Napoleon* over the Austrians at *Monte-Notte, Millesimo, Dego, Lodi, Lonato, Castiglione, Bassano, Caldiero, Roveredo, Arcola, and Rivoli*. Conquest by the French of the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua; 1796. 'One campaign gave Napoleon Italy; the second, peace.'—*H. M.*

Napoleon's Austrian Campaign, against the Archduke Charles. 'Napoleon pushed across the Alps to Vienna, while Hoche at the same time attacked the Lower and Moreau the Upper Rhine.'—*M.* Mantua capitulates. Repeated defeats of the Archduke Charles's numerically inferior forces. Napoleon advances through Styria upon Vienna; gallant resistance of the Tyrolese, who repulse Joubert with the loss of from 8,000 to 10,000 men. Venice taken by the French. Critical position of Napoleon, of which the Austrians fail to take advantage. 'The Imperial court, stupefied by the late discomfiture in Italy, instead of regarding the proposals of the wily Frenchman as a confession of embarrassment, and assailing him with redoubled vigour, acceded to them.'—*M.* The Saxon troops recalled by the Elector from the Imperial army; Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria, intent upon making peace with

* Niebuhr says Archduke Charles was like Pyrrhus, better in winning a battle than conducting a campaign.—*J. G. L.*

France, each and all refuse to furnish troops or pay a war-tax. 'Thus the burden of the war on the Continent fell on Austria and the States in the South of Germany.'—*H. M.* Armistice and preliminaries of *Peace at Leoben: Peace formally concluded at Campo Formio.** 'The Netherlands, Italy, and the whole left bank of the Rhine, were abandoned to the arbitrary rule of France. The triumph of the French Republic was confirmed, and ancient Europe received a new form. France gained the preponderance in Europe.'—*M.* 'In return for these sacrifices the Emperor received the republican city of Venice, with its continental territory as far as the Etach, and was permitted to retain Istria and Dalmatia, which had been wrested from the Venetians by Austria during the armistice.'—*P.* 'In contemplating the fall of Venice, it is difficult to say whether most indignation is to be felt at the perfidy of France, the cupidity of Austria, the weakness of the Venetian aristocracy, or the insanity of the Venetian people.'—*A.* 1797.

Frederic William III., King of Prussia (son of Frederic William II.); 1797. He maintains neutrality in the Coalition against France; and endeavours by economy and reform to repair the waste and extravagance of his predecessor.

Congress of Rastadt, 1797—finally broken up † 1799. The object of Talleyrand, the minister of the French Republic, to sow disunion between Austria, Prussia, and the petty German States. Rapacity and tyranny of the French at this period. 'The weakness displayed by the Empire, and the increasing disunion between Austria and Prussia, encouraged the French to further insolence. They garrisoned every fortification on the left bank of the Rhine, attacked, starved out, and razed, during time of peace, the once impregnable fortress of Ehrenbreitstein; laid the Netherlands and Holland completely waste; levied an enormous contribution on the Hanse towns; divided the beautiful Rhenish provinces into four departments; revolutionised and pillaged Switzerland; remained ever faithful to but one principle—that of robbery; and converted liberty, equality, and justice into mere fictions.'—*M.* England alone continues the war against France. 'England stood against the Continent; with doubled power; with doubled debts; with doubled resources.'—*H. M.* *Continuation of the Congress of Rastadt during 1798.* 'Austria was employed in healing its wounds; Prussia, on the other hand, thinking to steer, in the general storm, between Scylla and Charybdis, persisted, with unshaken purpose, in its neutrality; in the East was Russia, with unweakened vigour, not only aggrandised by the last Polish Partitions, but brought geographically nearer to the West.'—*H. M.* 'Austria felt that the moment was approaching when she might

* The conditions of the Peace of Campo Formio are given at length in Heeren's *Man. of the Pol. Stat. System of Mod. Europe*, vol. ii. period iii. pt. i. p. 200, and in Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. iii. ch. xxiii.

† Read on the Congress of Rastadt, Menzel, vol. iii. ch. ccl. p. 202 *seqq.*

regain her lost provinces, restore her fallen influence, and oppose a barrier to the revolutionary torrent that was overflowing Italy. She had accordingly been indefatigable in her exertions to recruit and remodel her armies since the Treaty of Leoben. She had 240,000 men, supported by an immense artillery, ready to take the field, all admirably equipped and in the finest order, and to these were to be added 60,000 Russians, under the renowned Suwarrow, flushed with the storming of Ismail and Warsaw, and anxious to measure their strength with the conquerors of Southern Europe. Turkey had forgotten its ancient enmity to Russia, in animosity against France for the unprovoked attack upon Egypt, and its fleets and armies threatened to enclose the conqueror of the Pyramids in the kingdom he had won.—A.

SECOND COALITION AGAINST FRANCE (December 29, 1798) of Austria, Russia, England, the Porte, and the two Sicilies.

The French Directory declares war against the Allies, January 25, 1799. 'The war had previously begun in Naples, which was taken by Championnet, and converted by the French into the Parthenopean Republic.' The Congress of Rastadt finally broken up April 8, 1799; mysterious assassination of the French ambassadors on their return.*

War of the Second Coalition against France: from 1799-1802. The French under Scherer, Massena, Jourdan, Moreau, Joubert, Macdonald, and Lecombe, against the allies under General Kray, who acted in Italy, the Archduke Charles, who protected Austria, and Suwarrow, who was to free Switzerland—*defeats* of the French at *Stockach, Magnano, Legnano, Cassano, Trebia, and Novi*;† the allies regain nearly the whole of Italy, except Genoa. Disagreement of Austria and Russia. 'Dissensions now broke out among the victors. A fourth of the forces in Italy belonged to Austria, merely one-fifth to Russia: the Austrians, consequently, imagined that the war was carried on merely on their account.'—M. Separation of the Russian and Austrian forces, Suwarrow crossing the Alps to join Korsakow and drive the French out of Switzerland. *Defeats* of the Austrians at the *St. Gothard Pass, the Simplon, the Furca, the Grimsel, and the Devil's Bridge*, by the French.

* Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclii., on the causes of this crime, 'which was,' as Hormayr, quoted in Menzel, observes, 'at the same time a political blunder.'

† Read the graphic account of this obstinately-contested and bloody battle in Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. iv. ch. xxix. p. 119 *seqq.*

Defeat of Korsakow by Massena at Zurich. Victory of Suwarrow over the French at the St. Gothard, which he forces in his retreat from Lecombe and Massena; Suwarrow's famous retreat over the high Alps. 'After enduring incredible hardships, Suwarrow, on the 1st of October, entered Glarus, there he rested until the 4th, when he crossed the Panitzer Mountains through snow two feet deep to the valley of the Rhine, which he reached on the 10th, after losing the whole of his beasts of burden, and 200 of his men, down the precipices; and here ended his extraordinary march, which had cost him the whole of his artillery, almost all his horses, and a third of his men.' —M.

Joint expedition of the English, under the Duke of York, and the Russians to Holland; *defeats of the French under Brune and Vandamme at Alkmaer and Bergen; indecisive battle of Haerlem*, which the English fail to take; retreat of the allied forces, much reduced by sickness; they disgracefully capitulate and evacuate Holland. *Defeat of the Archduke Charles in a succession of petty battles at Heidelberg and on the Neckar* by the French; *victory of the Austrians under Melas, over the French under Championnet at Savignano; 1799. Return of Buonaparte from Egypt, October 9, 1799.*

Campaigns in the next year, 1800, at Marengo and Hohenlinden. Advance of Moreau across the Rhine into Alsace; *defeats of the Austrians under Kray, by the French under Moreau at Engen, Moeskirch, and Biberach*; advance of Moreau as far as Ulm. Passage of the Great St. Bernard by the French under Napoleon; the Austrians surprised by him, as the Romans by Hannibal; taking of Milan; *defeat of the Austrians under Melas at Montebello.* 'This was one of the most desperate actions which had yet occurred in the war. "The bones," says Lannes, "cracked in my division like glass in a hailstorm."' —A. Disastrous retreat of the Austrian division under General Elnitz; great and desperate *battle of Marengo* and defeat of the Austrians under Melas and Ott by Napoleon. 'This memorable battle was one of the most obstinately contested which had yet occurred during the war, one in which both parties performed pro-

* Read the very graphic account of this famous retreat in Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. iv. ch. xxix. p. 153, given in the Appendix.

digies of valour, and one which was attended with greater results perhaps than any conflict that had yet occurred in modern Europe. The victory gave the Republicans the entire command of Italy—a result of itself of vast importance; but, coming as it did in the outset of Napoleon's career as First Consul, its consequences were incalculable. It fixed him on the throne, revived the military spirit of the French, and precipitated the nation into that career of conquest which led them to Cadiz and the Kremlin.—A. The battle won by a charge of Murat. Loan of £2,000,000 furnished by England to Austria: immense exertions of Austria; levy in Hungary and Bohemia; advance of the Austrian army into Bavaria under the Archduke John; **great battle of Hohenlinden**; defeat of the Austrians under the Archduke John by the French under Moreau; the Austrians retire behind the Inn and fight a gallant battle, defeating the French cavalry before Salzburg; passage of the Splügen by Macdonald; *battle of the Mincio* and defeat of the Austrians under Hohenzollern by the French under Brune, December 26; 1800.

Prussia joins in the Northern armed neutrality against England; and occupies Hanover, and the banks of the Elbe and Weser; 1801.

Peace of Luneville, between Austria and France; 'subscribed by the Emperor Francis II. in the name of the Empire as well as of Austria; and by which Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were again ceded to France; the conditions of the Peace of Campo Formio confirmed; Venice guaranteed to Austria; and an indemnity dictated by the French at the expense of secularised Imperial Church lands and mediatised Imperial free cities granted to the princes (Prussia, Hesse-Darmstadt, Bavaria, Baden, and others) that had lost any of their dominions during the war.'—A. **'By this Treaty the seeds of interminable discord were sown in the whole Germanic body.'** 'In the affair of the German indemnities, fixed at the Peace of Luneville, while all the spiritual princes, with the exception of the Chancellor of the Empire, were deprived of their seats, the temporal estates, being more or less favoured by France, shared their inheritance.' *—H. M. **The Emperor Francis II. addresses a Letter of Apology to the Electors of the Empire, to excuse his signature of the Treaty; † 1801.**

HENCEFORTH THE OLD GERMAN EMPIRE CEASES TO EXIST. 'There was still a German Empire left;

* The terms of the Peace of Luneville are given at length in Heeren's *Manual of the Pol. Stat. Syst. of Mod. Europe*, vol. ii. period iii. p. 251, and the list of the indemnities in Putz, *Handbook of Mod. Hist.* § 324 seqq. p. 161.

† Read Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. iv. ch. xxxii. p. 460.

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but it was no more than an aggregate of States under foreign influence, with the Emperor as nominal sovereign.—*H. M.*

Benefits arising from the settlement of the indemnities, in the extinction of a number of the petty princely residences, 'hotbeds of French vice and degeneracy,' the secularisation of the monasteries, 'these dens of superstition,' the mediatisation of the Imperial free towns, 'the abodes of petty burgher prejudice,' and the clearing away the relics of effete feudalism. 'Since 1797, when Austria at Campo Formio perfidiously exchanged the Netherlands for Venetia, the work of destruction had gone on apace. All the German sovereigns west of the Rhine had been dispossessed, and their territories incorporated with France, while the rest of the country was revolutionised by the arrangements of the Peace of Luneville, and the indemnities dictated by the French to the Diet. New kingdoms were erected, electorates created and extinguished, the lesser princes mediatised, the free cities occupied by troops and bestowed on some neighbouring potentate. More than any other change, the secularisation of the dominions of the prince-bishops and abbots proclaimed the fall of the old constitution, whose principles had required the existence of a spiritual alongside of the temporal aristocracy.'—*Br.*

[England continues the war against France till the Peace of Amiens; 1802.]

Incessant efforts, during the period of peace, of the Archduke Charles to remodel and re-organise the army, and of the Archduke John to establish a national militia force.

'During the scanty period of peace enjoyed by Europe, all strove, by applying themselves to industry, trade, and navigation, to heal the wounds that had been inflicted; and deep as they were, a few years of peace would have been sufficient. But peace did not eradicate distrust, the element of new strife, which soon received too ample support. England would not relinquish Malta, and with it the dominion of the Mediterranean, nor would France concede these points; and the formal incorporation of plundered Piedmont showed the nations of the Continent that the national boundaries, on which so much stress had been placed, were boundaries no more.'—*H. M.*

NAPOLEON ELECTED HEREDITARY EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, May 18, 1804; crowned and anointed by Pope Pius VII., December 2, 1804.* 'The abolition of the French Republic, and the erection of France into an Empire, was viewed with distrust by Austria, whose displeasure had been, moreover, roused by the arbitrary conduct of Napoleon in Italy. Fresh disputes had also arisen between him and England: he had occupied the whole of Hanover, which Walmoden's army had been powerless to defend with his troops, and

* Read the admirable remarks in Bryce's Prize Essay, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 144 *seqq.*, on the evident desire shown by Napoleon to be regarded as lawful Emperor of the West. The reader will find two fine characters of Napoleon, one by Bonnehose, the other by Lord Brougham, extracted in my *Analysis of English and French History*, pp. 121 and 124.

violated the Baden territory by the seizure of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien, a prince of the House of Bourbon, who was carried into France and there shot. Prussia offered no interference, in the hope of receiving Hanover in reward for her neutrality.'—*M.*

**THIRD COALITION AGAINST FRANCE OF
AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, ENGLAND, AND SWEDEN,
1805: PRUSSIA, TO HER OWN DISGRACE
AND RUIN, REMAINS NEUTRAL.**

'Austria acted, undeniably, on this occasion with impolitic haste: she ought rather to have waited till Prussia and public opinion throughout Germany had been ranged on her side, as, sooner or later, must have been the case, by the brutal encroachments of Napoleon. Austria, unaided by Prussia, could scarcely dream of success. But England, at that time fearful of Napoleon's landing on her coast, lavished her all-persuasive gold.'—*M.*

Napoleon takes possession of Hanover and commences the, so-called, *Continental-System*, prohibiting the introduction of all British manufactures, &c., &c., into France, and wherever he had power to prevent their importation.

Campaign of Austerlitz,* 1805, of the Emperor Napoleon in person, with his Marshals Ney, Massena, Davoust, Lannes, Soult, Bernadotte, &c., &c., against the Archdukes Charles, John, and Ferdinand, the Emperor Francis II., the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and his generals Kutosow, Bagration, &c. Napoleon violates the neutrality of Prussia by sending Bernadotte from Hanover across the neutral Prussian territory of Anspach. 'Most of all is Prussia answerable for the disasters of this campaign. She was clearly warned of her danger: the violation of the territory of Anspach had demonstrated in what manner she was regarded by the conqueror; that he contemned her menaces, despised her power, and reserved for her only the melancholy privilege of being last devoured. Then was the time to have taken a decisive part—then was the moment to have made amends for the vacillations of ten years, and, by a cordial union with Austria and Russia, put a final stop to the progress of the enemy.'—*A.*

The Archduke Ferdinand at the head of the Austrian troops in Germany; the Archduke Charles at the head of the Austrian troops in Italy. Repeated defeats of the Austrians at the bloody battles of *Memmingen*, *Elchingen*, *Trochtelfingen*; Mack, cut off at *Ulm*, surrenders with his

* On the resources, statistics, &c., &c., of the Austrian Empire at this period, read Allison's *Fr. Rev.* vol. v. ch. xl.

whole garrison. 'Mack lost his senses, and capitulated on the 17th of October, 1805. With him fell 20,000 (?) Austrians, the elite of the army, into the hands of the enemy. Napoleon could scarcely spare a sufficient number of men to escort this enormous crowd of prisoners to France.'—*M.* 'On that memorable morning, the garrison of Ulm, 30,000 strong, with sixty pieces of cannon, marched out of the gates of the fortress to lay down its arms. For five hours the immense array defied before him—the men in the deepest dejection, the officers in sullen despair, at the unparalleled disgrace that had befallen their arms. Klenau, Giulay, Gottesheim, Lichtenstein were there—names celebrated in former wars, and destined to acquire still greater distinction in those more glorious ones that followed.'—*A.* Gal-

lant resistance of the Tyrolese peasantry against the French under Ney. Campaign of the Archduke Charles in Italy; *defeat of Massena at Caldiero*: the Archduke Charles retreats for the purpose of saving Vienna: *defeats of the Austrians under the Prince Rohan at Castelfranco*, and of Jellalich at the *Lake of Constance*. *Defeat of the Austrians by the French under Davoust at Mariazell* (in Styria). Occupation of Vienna by the French under Napoleon. The Russians under Kutosof advance into Moravia to aid the Austrians; bloody and indecisive *battle of Dürrenstein*, on the Danube, between the Russians and the French under Mortier. Prussia is in vain urged by Austria and Russia to join the coalition; indecision of Prussia, though backed by England and Sweden. 'The King of Prussia, nevertheless, merely confined himself to threats, in the hope of selling his neutrality to Napoleon for Hanover, and deceived the coalition.'—*M.* Union of the Austrian and Russian armies and **GREAT BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ**, near Brünn, December 2, 1805, also called 'the battle of the Three Emperors': 'the most glorious of all the victories of Napoleon; that in which his military genius shone forth with the brightest lustre.'—*A.* Disgraceful Treaty of Prussia with France, directly afterwards.

'This both decided the policy of Prussia, and Haugwitz confirmed her alliance with France by a treaty, by which Prussia ceded Cleves, Anspach, and Neuchâtel to France in exchange for Hanover.'—*M.* *Peace of Presburg*, between Austria and France, 'purchased by Austria at an enormous cost';—the terms, very briefly, being, the cession, on the part of Austria, of Venice and the Venetian territory to the new kingdom of Italy, and the acknowledgment of Napoleon as King of Italy; the cession of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria, and of the Imperial possessions in Suabia to the Electors of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, all of whom were declared independent sovereigns, the two first with the title of King.'—*P.*

1805. 'A marvellous campaign, when we recollect that in the beginning of August the French army was still at Boulogne,'—A.

Creation of Kingdoms and Principalities by the French Emperor Napoleon at the expense, for the most part, of the Empire, and his Federative system of thrones and dignities in support of his own. **Formation by Napoleon of the Confederation of the Rhine,*** also called 'the Rhenish Alliance,' and **DISSOLUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AND COMPLETE END OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.** The Emperor Francis II. resigns the title of 'Emperor of Germany,' and henceforth assumes that of 'Emperor of Austria' only. 'The Emperor Francis, partly foreboding the events that were at hand, partly in order to meet Napoleon's assumption of the Imperial name by depriving that name of its peculiar meaning, began in 1805 to style himself "Hereditary Emperor of Austria," while retaining at the same time his former title of "Roman Emperor Elect." The next act of the drama was one in which we may more readily pardon the ambition of a foreign conqueror than the traitorous selfishness of the German princes, who broke every tie of ancient friendship and duty to grovel at his throne. By the Act of the Confederation of the Rhine, signed at Paris, July 12, 1806, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and several other States, sixteen in all, withdrew from the body and repudiated the laws of the Empire; while on August 1 the French envoy at Regensburg announced to the Diet that his master, who had consented to become the protector of the Confederate princes, no longer recognised the existence of the Empire. Francis II. resolved at once to anticipate this new Odoacer, and by a declaration, dated August 6, 1806, resigned the Imperial dignity. His deed states that, finding it impossible, in the altered state of things, to fulfil the obligations imposed by his "capitulation," he considers as dissolved the bonds which attached him to the Germanic body, releases from their allegiance the States who formed it, and retires to the government of his hereditary dominions under the title of Emperor of Austria. Throughout, the term "Germanic Empire" (*Deutsches Reich*) is employed. But it was the crown of Augustus, of Constantine, of Charles, of Maximilian, that Francis of Hapsburg laid down, and a new era in the world's history was marked by the fall of its most venerable institution: 1006 years after Leo the Pope had crowned the Frankish King, 1858 years after Cæsar had conquered at Pharsalia, the Holy Roman Empire ended.' †—Br.

COMPLETE DISSOLUTION HENCEFORTH OF EVERY BOND OF UNION BETWEEN THE FORMER IMPERIAL STATES, AND THE DIET OF THE EMPIRE AND THE IMPERIAL CHAM-

* Read, on this, the extract from Menzel, vol. iii. ch. ccliii. p. 235, given in the Appendix.

† Read also the opening paragraphs in Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, to which I am indebted for the above quotation.

BER: A LARGE NUMBER OF BARONS AND COUNTS OF THE EMPIRE AND PETTY PRINCES ARE MEDIATISED, AND SUBJECTED, BY THE AID OF FRENCH TROOPS, TO MEMBERS OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE: THE IMPERIAL DIET AT RATISBON AND THE IMPERIAL CHAMBERS AT WETZLAR AND VIENNA ARE DISSOLVED.

Prussia is compelled, by France, to take possession of Hanover and to close her ports against British commerce; England declares war against Prussia on the occupation of Hanover, and avenges herself by reprisals on the Prussian marine, which suffers greatly. The insolent and overbearing conduct of France, and the unmeasured contempt shown by her for Prussia, leads Prussia to solicit the alliance of England, Russia, and Austria, and brings about

THE FOURTH COALITION AGAINST FRANCE
of Prussia, Russia, Saxony, England, and Sweden; 1806.

'Prussia, by a timely declaration of war, before Austerlitz, might have turned the tide against Napoleon, and earned to herself the glory and gain, instead of being compelled, at a later period, to make that declaration under circumstances of extreme disadvantage. War was indeed declared, but with too great precipitation. Instead of awaiting the arrival of the Russian troops, or gaining Austria, instead of manning her fortresses or taking precautionary measures, the Prussian army, with that of Saxony, which lent but compulsory aid, and with those of Mecklenburg and Brunswick, its voluntary allies, took the field without any settled plan, and, like Mack at Ulm, remained stationary in the Thuringian Forest, awaiting the appearance of Napoleon.'—*M.*

Campaign of Jena; 1806. The Duke of Brunswick, the King of Prussia, Frederic William III., in person, Prince Louis of Prussia, Prince William of Prussia, the Prince of Hohenlohe, Ruchel, Blücher, Tauenzien, the Prince of Orange, Marshal Möllendorf, and Schmettau, against Napoleon, in person, and his Marshals Lannes, Davoust, Ney, Augereau, Murat, Bernadotte.

The Prussian army cut off from its magazines at Hof and Naumburg, and from its reserve corps, through the incapacity of the Duke of Brunswick, and the rapid march of Napoleon;

repulse of Tauenzien near Weimar. 'Napoleon, utterly astounded at the negligence of the Duke of Brunswick, exclaimed, whilst comparing him with Mack, "Les Prussiens sont encore plus stupides que les Autrichiens."'—*M.* *Defeats of the Prussians under Prince Louis of Prussia at Saalfeld; under Prince Hohenlohe by Napoleon at the great battle of Jena, and of the Duke of Brunswick by Davoust at Auerstädt.* 'Two astonishing battles, which in one single day prostrated the strength of the Prussian monarchy, and did that in a few hours which all the might of Austria, Russia, France, in the Seven Years' War, had been unable to effect.'—*A.* *Capture of Erfurt with 14,000 men under Marshal Möllendorf; disgraceful surrender of Stettin, Küstrin, and almost all the important Prussian fortresses, with the exception of Colberg, bravely defended by Gneisenau, and a few other strong places; infamous capitulation of Magdeburg with a garrison of 22,000 Prussians under Kleist, and 800 cannon, to Ney with 10,000 French and a light field battery. Gallant retreat of Blücher with his corps to Lübeck, and defeat in a bloody battle in the town of Lübeck; he forces his way to the border of the Danish territory and there surrenders. Surrender of the impregnable fortress of Spandau and occupation of Berlin by the French.* 'On the same day Marshal Davoust, agreeably to the promise of Napoleon, headed the splendid vanguard, which, with all the pomp of war, entered Berlin. No words can describe the mingled feelings of rage, astonishment, and despair, which animated the inhabitants at this heart-rending spectacle, occurring in less than a fortnight after hostilities had commenced. With speechless grief they gazed on the proud array which defiled through their gates, and drank deep of the punishment for the political sins of their Government during the last ten years.'—*A.*

Seizure and confiscation of an immense amount of English property in Prussia by the French; and enormous contributions, in all about £12,000,000 sterling, levied in the country. Silesia overrun by the French under Jerome Buonaparte and the troops of the Rhenish Confederation, under Vandamme, who plunder the country: the fortresses are either surrendered or taken: advance of the French to the Vistula; the conquered Prussian States as far as the Oder are divided into four departments by the French, and the whole country between the Rhine and the Vistula occupied by them. **Total prostration of Prussia.** Publica-

tion by Napoleon of the Berlin decree against British commerce; *treaty between France and Saxony*, 'whereby it was stipulated that the Elector of Saxony, with all the minor princes of Saxony, should become members of the Confederation of the Rhine; that the Elector should receive the title of King, furnish a contingent of 20,000 men to the French army, and grant a passage at all times to French troops across his kingdom—a provision that sufficiently pointed Saxony out as a military outpost of the great nation.'—*A.* King Frederic William III., with

the remnant of the Prussian army under L'Estoc, retreats to Königsberg and joins the Russians under Bennigsen; advance of the French into Poland, and occupation of Warsaw; bloody and indecisive battles of *Golymin and Pultusk*, December 24 and December 26, between the French and Russians; 1806.

AUSTRIA DURING THIS PERIOD REMAINS NEUTRAL; and commences re-organising her army and replenishing her magazines and arsenals.

Enthusiasm of the Poles in the cause of Napoleon: they reinforce his armies largely. 'The selfish character of Napoleon incapable of the generous policy of restoring the independence of Poland: when too late, he regretted his mistake.'—*J. G. L.* Activity of the Prussian corps under L'Estoc; bloody battles of *Mohrungen and Landsberg*, in which the French are worsted, and of *Leibstadt*, in which the Russians are defeated. **Terrible and indecisive battle of Preussisch-Eylau**, between Napoleon with his Marshals Davoust, Murat, Augereau, and Ney, against the Russians under Bennigsen and the Prussian corps of L'Estoc, fought February 7 and 8, amidst ice and snow, with frightful loss on both sides. 'Never was spectacle so dreadful as the field of battle presented on the following morning. Above 50,000 men lay in the space of two leagues, weltering in blood. The wounds were for the most part of the severest kind, from the extraordinary quantity of cannon balls which had been discharged during the action, and the close proximity of the contending masses to the deadly batteries which spread grape at half-musket shot through their ranks. Though stretched on the cold snow, and exposed to the severity of an Arctic winter, the sufferers were burning with thirst, and piteous cries were heard on all sides for water, or assistance to extricate the wounded men from beneath the heaps of slain, or load of horses by which they were crushed. Subdued by loss of blood, tamed by cold, exhausted by hunger, the foemen lay side by side amidst the general wreck. The extremity of suffering had extinguished alike the fiercest and the most

generous passions.' *—A. Long siege and surrender of Dantzg; defended by the Prussians, to the French; fall of the remaining Silesian fortresses; *bloody defeat of the French* under Napoleon at *Heilsberg* by the Russians in conjunction with the Prussian corps under L'Estoc, and great and decisive *defeat of the allied army of Russians and Prussians* by Napoleon at *Friedland*: Conference at Tilsit between Alexander, the Emperor of Russia, Frederic William III., King of Prussia, and Napoleon: *PEACE OF TILSIT*;† 1807.

Conditions, very briefly:—Prussia loses half her territory, her provinces between the Rhine and the Elbe being converted by Napoleon into the new Kingdom of Westphalia, which was given to his brother Jerome, and joined to the Rhenish Confederation; her army restricted to 42,000 men; forced to pay an enormous contribution of 140,000,000 ff., and to admit French garrisons into her most important fortresses, and to join "the Continental-System;" ‡ ceding part of her Polish provinces to the Elector, now King, of Saxony (Napoleon's ally), under the title of the Duchy of Warsaw; and part of them to her late ally the Emperor of Russia.—H. 'Russia also ceded Moldavia and Wallachia to Turkey.'§—J. G. L. Meanwhile the allied Russian and Prussian armies retreat; Königsberg, defended by the Prussians under L'Estoc, is taken, and the allied armies retreat across the Niemen.

PRUSSIA IS REDUCED TO THE RANK OF A SECOND-RATE POWER.

'The peace with Prussia, by which about half of the monarchy was returned as a gift of charity, reduced this country to a State of the second rank. But even the loss of territory was not so great a misfortune as the oppression it had to bear in the peace, and the most contemptuous treatment it had to receive from the haughty conqueror.'—H. M.

DEPLORABLE STATE OF GERMANY AT THIS TIME; 1807, 1808; THE PERIOD OF HER DEEPEST DEGRADATION. || AUSTRIA HUMILIATED BY THE CAMPAIGN OF AUSTERLITZ,

* Any one who has seen, will not easily forget the heart-rending picture by Le Gros, in the Louvre, of Napoleon riding over the field among the dead and wounded.

† The conditions of the Peace of Tilsit are given at length in Heeren's *Man. of the Pol. State Systems of Mod. Europe*, vol. ii. period iii. p. 280, and in Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Rev.* vol. vi. ch. xlv. p. 301. On the battle of Friedland, read Alison, same vol. p. 267 *seqq.*

‡ Read, on the Continental-System, Heeren's *Manual*, quoted above, p. 285. There is a brief notice of it in Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclv. p. 254.

§ See Brewer's *Atlas*, no. xii.

|| Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclv.

PRUSSIA BY THAT OF JENA and FRIEDLAND, AND THE REST OF GERMANY FETTERED TO FRANCE BY THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, AND BY THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF WESTPHALIA AT THE EXPENSE OF PRUSSIA, HANOVER, HESSE, AND BRUNSWICK. THE POWER OF FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON PRE-DOMINANT OVER NEARLY ALL THE WEST

OF EUROPE. 'Germany bowed in lowly submission before the genius of Napoleon; Russia was bound by the silken chains of flattery; England, Turkey, Sweden, and Portugal alone bade him defiance.'—*M.* 'French princes on the thrones of Holland and Italy; Spain in alliance: from the Pyrenees to the Vistula French dominion, French law, and in the midst of peace, French armies—where could any hope survive, unless it were in Britain?'—*H. M.*

EXTINCTION OF COMMERCE ON THE RHINE; DEGRADED CONDITION OF THE NEW KINGDOM OF WESTPHALIA, UNDER JEROME BUONAPARTE; EXACTIONS AND TYRANNY OF THE FRENCH IN THE STATES OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE, WHO ARE FORCED TO FURNISH TROOPS FOR NAPOLEON'S WAR IN SPAIN; WHILE THE KING OF PRUSSIA, WHO REFUSES TO SEND HIS TROOPS INTO SPAIN, IS FORCED TO PAY AN ENORMOUS CONTINGENT FOR NAPOLEON'S LATER WARS IN EASTERN EUROPE.

Austria continues re-organising her army while Napoleon is engaged in the Spanish war, and patriotism is resuscitated in Prussia by the institution of the '*Tugendbund*,' a secret society whose object was silently to prepare a general insurrection throughout Germany against Napoleon. Patriotic exertions of the Prussian minister Stein, and of Arndt, Jahn, and Scharnhorst, to awaken patriotic spirit, and to re-organise, discipline, and increase the strength of the Prussian army by constantly introducing fresh troops into the

army; influence of the national songs of the liberal-spirited poets, Arnim, Tieck, and of the reviving study of the ancient German ballads, the *Nibelungenlied*, the *Minnesänger*, and the ancient chronicles. Ministry of Count Stadion in Austria, establishment of the *Landwehr*, and completion of the reforms of the army instituted by the Archduke Charles, who, with his brothers, the Archdukes John and Ferdinand, is placed at the head of the army, which is raised to nearly 400,000 men. General effervescence in Germany. Congress of Erfurt between the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander, attended also by four Kings of the Confederation of the Rhine and a great number of princes; Napoleon calls on Austria to disarm; Austria, encouraged by the continuance of the war in Spain, continues her preparations. 'After the experience already acquired at the Peace of Presburg, was Austria quietly to look forward to a fate like that sustained by Prussia at the Treaty of Tilsit? And could it meet with any other if Spain should be subjected?'—*H. M.*

War breaks out: FIFTH COALITION OF ENGLAND, AUSTRIA, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL AGAINST FRANCE; 1809. Proclamation of the Archduke Charles to the German nation; responded to only by the gallant Tyrolese. 'Though this was altogether an aggressive war on the part of Austria, it was a rightful aggressive war for breaking the chains she endured, and avoiding others yet more severe.'—*H. M.* *Rising of the Tyrol* under Hofer, Haspinger, Spechbacher, and Teimar, aided by an Austrian force under Chastellar: they three times succeed in clearing their country of overwhelming French and Bavarian armies under Lefebvre, Baraguay d'Hilliers, Wrede, and other generals: meanwhile *the great Campaign** is conducted by the Austrians, under the Archdukes Charles, John, and Ferdinand, and Marshal Hiller, against Napoleon and his marshals at the head of the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, Bavarians, Saxons, Württembergers, Poles, &c., with some French corps; the

* On the whole of this wonderful campaign, read Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. vii. chs. liii. liv. lvi., and on the war in the Tyrol, ch. lxx. this latter a good sketch is given in Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclvii.

German armies in the French service all commanded by French generals. Defeats of the Austrians on five successive days in the five battles of *Pfaffenhofen*, *Thann*, *Abensberg*, *Landshut*, *Eckmühl*, and *Ratisbon*;—‘perhaps the most glorious triumph of Napoleon’s surpassing tactics.’—*M.* Retreat of the Archduke Charles from Ratisbon, after a desperate cavalry action.

‘As the pursuing columns of Napoleon’s army approached this imposing mass of the Imperial cavalry, they paused till the French horse came up in sufficient strength to hazard an engagement. A variety of charges of hussars then took place on both sides, with various success; and at length the magnificent Austrian cuirassiers bore down with apparently irresistible force upon their pursuers. The French light horse could not withstand the shock, and were quickly dispersed; but their cuirassiers came up, and then two rival bodies, equally heavily armed, equally brave, equally disciplined, engaged in mortal combat. So vehement was the onset, so nearly matched the great strength of the combatants, so tremendous the conflict, that both parties, as if by mutual consent, suspended their fire to await the issue: the roar of the musketry subsided, even the heavy booming of the artillery ceased, and from the *mêlée* was heard only, as from the battles of the knights of old, the loud clang of the swords ringing on the helmets and cuirasses of the dauntless antagonists. The sun set while the contest was still undecided; the moon rose on the deadly strife, and amidst her silvery rays fire was struck on all sides by the steel upon the armour, and dazzling sparks flew around the combatants, as if a thousand anvils were at once ringing under the blows of the forgers. Nothing could overcome the heroic courage of the Imperialists; but their equipment was not equal to that of their opponents, and in close fight the Austrian horsemen, whose front only was covered, were not an adequate match for the cuirassiers of Napoleon, whose armour went entirely round their body. After a desperate struggle, their numbers were so reduced that they were unable any longer to make head against the enemy, and, leaving two-thirds of their number on the field, they were driven in disorder along the chaussée towards Ratisbon. But their heroic stand, however fatal to themselves, proved the salvation of the army.’—*A.*

Bloody battle at *Ebelsberg*, defeat of the Bavarians and French by the Austrians, under Marshal Hiller; Napoleon enters Vienna; dreadful battles of *Aspern* and *Essling*, ‘the first great action in which Napoleon was defeated.’ Meanwhile, campaign of the Archduke John in Italy; great defeat of the French under Eugène Beauharnais by the Austrians under the Archduke John at the battle of *Sacile* on the Tagliamento; and fruitless insurrection of Schill* and the Duke of Brunswick in the North of Germany. Retreat of the

* Read Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclvi. p. 278, and the three ballads beginning, ‘Es zog aus Berlin ein tapfrer Held,’ &c., ‘O eine Eiche,’ &c., and ‘Klaget nicht, dass ich gefallen,’ &c., entitled ‘Schill’s Geisterstimme,’ Nos. 64, 65, 66, in a very pretty volume called *Lieder vom Deutschen Vaterland*, by Karl Simrock; Frankfurt.

French under Napoleon to the Island of Lobau; defeat of the Austrians under the Archduke John by the French under Eugène Beauharnais (the Viceroy of Italy) at the *battle of Raab*; junction of the forces of Eugène with those of the grand army under Napoleon, and defeat of the Austrians under the Archduke Charles at the bloody and obstinately contested **battle of Wagram**; retreat of the Austrians to Znaim; truce of Znaim and **Peace of Vienna**.

During the above period, *Campaign of the Austrian army under the Archduke Ferdinand in Poland*; he captures Warsaw; but is driven back by the Poles under Poniatowski, who recapture Warsaw, and take Cracow. Wonderful retreat of the Duke of Brunswick from Saxony to England.

Terms of the Peace of Vienna : * 'Very briefly, Austria is forced to cede a large part of the Tyrol to Bavaria, and another part to Italy, the Illyrian provinces to France, Western Galicia to Saxony, to join the "Continental-System," and to break off all relations with England, and pay a contribution of 3,000,000*l.* to France, and to reduce her army.'—*O. C. T. and P.* 'By the Peace of Vienna, Austria lost territories containing 3,500,000 inhabitants,'—*A.* 'and 2,000 square miles of territory.'—*J. G. L.* 'At the close of the year, the Continent was again in a state of tranquillity, with the exception of the Peninsula of the Pyrenees; but what a fallacious tranquillity!'—*H. M.* Destruction of the ancient ramparts of Vienna by the French; the gallant resistance of the Tyrolese finally extinguished by overwhelming French armies; capture and execution of Hofer, 1809.

All the North of Germany from the Wesel to Lübeck, the Hanse towns, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck, with Lower Saxony and a portion of the Kingdom of Westphalia, incorporated with France; receiving French laws and French governors. The troops of the Rhenish Confederation serve in Napoleon's armies in Spain and suffer frightfully in the Peninsular War; † while the Hanoverian legion, composed of Hanoverian and other German refugees in England, serves in

* The terms of the Treaty are given at length in Heeren's *Man.* vol. ii. p. 290, and in Alison, *l. l.*

† 'The most implacable hate, merciless rage, the assassination of prisoners, plunder, destruction, and incendiarism, equally distinguished both sides.'—*Menzel*, vol. iii. ch. cclviii. p. 298.

the Duke of Wellington's army against the French and upholds the Spanish cause. Marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa; Prussia and Austria are alike drained of their treasures and resources by the contributions enforced by Napoleon; **Great National Bankruptcy of Austria.**

'Exhausted by her continual exertions for the maintenance of the war, the State could no longer meet its obligations, and on March 15, 1811, Count Wallis, the minister of finance, lowered the value of 1,000,000,000 of bank paper to 212,000,000, and the interest upon the whole of the State debts to half the new paper issue. This fearful State bankruptcy was accompanied by the fall of innumerable private firms; trade was completely at a standstill, and the contributions demanded by Napoleon amounted to a sum almost impossible to realise. Prussia, too, especially suffered from the drain upon her resources.'—*M.* 1810.

From this time dates the decline of Napoleon's power. The **GREAT RUSSIAN WAR** of Napoleon involves Austria and Prussia, and the Confederation of the Rhine. *Alliance between Austria and France* concluded March 14, 1812; Austria to furnish 80,000 men. *Alliance between France and Prussia*, February 24, 1812; Prussia to furnish 20,000 men and immense supplies for the French army. 'The situation of Austria in the impending contest was less dangerous, because it lay beyond the sphere of French influence; but so much the more desperate was the situation of Prussia. The grand route of the war lay through the midst of its provinces, and its utter ruin seemed inevitable. The obligations of all the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine towards their protector admitted of no doubt: they had no option.'—*H. M.*

Invasion of Russia by Napoleon 'with a grand army of 500,000 men. But of this prodigious armament only 200,000 were native French: the remainder were Germans, Italians, Poles, Swiss, and Austrians, whom the terror of the French arms had compelled, however unwillingly, to follow their banners.'—*N. P. W.*

During the campaign, the troops of Austria under Schwarzenberg, and those of Prussia under General York, suffer little, comparatively with the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, which are nearly exterminated. At the conclusion of the campaign, *General York*, instead of obeying Napoleon's order to cover the retreat of the

* On the great Russian Campaign of Napoleon, the fullest account is given in Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. viii. chs. lxvii. lxviii. There is a very good and graphic account in Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon (Family Lib.)*, and a brief sketch in Menzel, vol. iii. ch. cclix. Read also Segur's *Expedition to Russia*. 'Segur has been compared to Tacitus.'—*J. G. L.*

left wing of the French army under Macdonald, *concludes a Treaty of Neutrality* with the Russians under General Diebitsch. 'Of the grand army of Napoleon, suffice it to say that of the hundreds of thousands who had crossed the Niemen with him, scarcely as many thousands returned, and of these how few were capable of bearing arms! The army of the tyrant, half dead, half captive, existed no longer: he himself, in a miserable sledge, and unknown, escaped death, if not shame, to carry the first news of his defeat to his capital.'—*H. M.* 1812.

RESURRECTION OF GERMANY, 1813, after Napoleon's retreat from Russia. **SIXTH GREAT COALITION OF PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, ENGLAND, and AFTERWARDS AUSTRIA, AGAINST FRANCE.** Manifesto of Frederic William III., King of Prussia, calling upon his people to rise against the French; *Treaty of Kalisch*, and alliance offensive and defensive between Frederic William III. of Prussia and Alexander, Emperor of Russia. 'The hour for vengeance had at length arrived. The whole Prussian nation, eager to throw off the hated yoke of the foreigner, to obliterate their disgrace in 1806, to regain their ancient name, cheerfully hastened to place their lives and property at the service of the impoverished government. The whole of the able-bodied population was put under arms. The standing army was increased; to each regiment were appended troops of volunteers, *Jägers*, composed of young men belonging to the higher classes, who furnished their own equipments; a numerous *Landwehr*, a sort of militia, was, as in Austria, raised, besides the standing army; and measures were even taken to call out, in case of necessity, the heads of families and elderly men remaining at home, under the name of the *Landsturm*, or general muster of the people. The enthusiastic people, besides furnishing the customary supplies, and paying the taxes, contributed to the full extent of their means towards defraying the expense of this general arming.'—*M.*

WAR OF THE LIBERATION OF GERMANY.*
Battles of Lützen, also called battle of Gross-Görschen, and *Bautzen* (gained by Napoleon over the allies under Wittgenstein and Blücher); *battle of Heinau* (defeat of the French under General Maison by the Prussians). *Armistice of Pleiswitz*, 'perhaps the greatest political fault, after the Spanish ulcer and

* For a brief narrative of this wonderful war, and the negotiations, alliances, &c., &c., that preceded it, read Menzel, vol. iii. chs. cclx-cclxii. The accounts in the *Pictorial Hist. of England* and in Knight's *Pop. Hist. of England*, vol. vii. ch. xxxii., are very interesting; and for a minute and detailed narrative, Alison's *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. ix. ch. lxx. seqq. Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon* and the *Student's Hist. of France* have been before referred to.

136 WAR OF THE LIBERATION OF GERMANY; 1813.

the Austrian match, of Napoleon's life,'—K., and *Congress of Prague*, lasts two months, but ends unsatisfactorily. Austria joins the alliance against France. 'The allies made the best use of the breathing time allowed them by the armistice. A subsidy of 11,000,000*l.*, granted by England, enabled them to equip at least 600,000 men, who formed three divisions; viz. 1. The grand army of Bohemia under Schwarzenberg, in whose camp were the three allied monarchs and General Moreau. 2. The army of Silesia under Blücher. 3. The army of the North, under the Crown Prince of Sweden, Bernadotte.'—P. 'Besides these, there were the Austrian forces in Italy under Hiller; the Russian and Austrian reserves in Poland and Austria; the corps employed in the siege of Dantzic and of the fortresses on the Oder. The whole was estimated at 700,000 to 800,000 men.'—H. M.

Frightful sufferings at this period of the town of Hamburg in French occupation under Davoust. *Great battle of Dresden** (victory of Napoleon over Schwarzenberg; death of Moreau). 'Napoleon had achieved at Dresden the last of his great victories. That triumph was followed within a very few days by signal reverses sustained by his marshals.'—K. P. H. *Battle of the Katzbach* (defeat of Macdonald and Souham by Blücher). 'It was on this battle-field that the Silesians had formerly conquered the Tartars, and the monastery of Wahlstatt, erected in memory of that heroic day, was still standing. Blücher was rewarded with the title of Prince von der Wahlstatt, but his soldiers henceforth surnamed him Marshal Vorwärts. The French lost 108 guns, 18,000 prisoners, and a still greater number in killed: the loss on the side of the Prussians merely amounted to 1,000 men (?). Macdonald returned almost totally unattended to Dresden, and himself brought the intelligence to Napoleon,—"Votre armée du Bobre n'existe plus."—M. *Battle of Culm* (defeat of Vandamme by Ostermann and Kleist); *battle of Grossbeeren* (defeat of Oudinot by Bernadotte); *battle of Dennewitz* (defeat of Ney by Bülow, Tauenzien, and Bernadotte). 'These defeats materially weakened the large French armies that had marched into Germany in April. They were still more weakened by sickness and starvation. They had exhausted the resources of Saxony, and men and horses were without food.'—K. P. H. Great losses of the French during the above period in partisan warfare; exploits of the irregular bands of Lützow and others. Retreat of the French, who abandon the line of the Saale and the Elbe, and concentration of their forces at Leipsic in conjunction with the Saxon troops under the King of Saxony. *Great battle of Leipsic*, October 16, 18, and 19, 1813 ('die Völkerschlacht'); *defeat of Na-*

* There is a very interesting account of this battle in Sir Robert Wilson's *Private Journal*, vol. ii. p. 94 seqq.

poleon : 'his army amounted in all to rather more than 170,000 men, including French, Saxons, Poles, Hessians, Badeners, and other troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, under himself and his subordinate commanders Murat, Marshals Berthier, Ney, Mortier, Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Augereau, Poniatowsky, and Generals Bertrand, Lauriston, Regnier, and Souham, as well as the cavalry generals Latour-Maubourg, Sebastiani, Arrighi, Kellermann, and Milhaud ;'—*H. M.*, **by the united forces**

of the allies, Austrians, Russians, Prussians, and Swedes. 'The decisive battle of three days' duration on the plains of Leipsic unriveted the fetters of Germany, and dashed to the ground the already rocking edifice of Buonaparte's universal dominion : its ruins only remained in the occupied fortresses of Hamburg, Magdeburg, &c. If the mass of combatants engaged in the field (amounting to almost half a million) makes it the first battle of modern history, it was no less so for its important consequences. A fraction only of the army reached the Rhine, after a flight similar to that from Moscow, and most of those were infected with a contagion which swept them away by thousands.'—*H. M.* **Death in the battle of Prince Poniatowsky** ; * and desertion, during the battle, of Napoleon's side by the Saxon forces, which go over to the allies. Napoleon retreats with the remains of his army, of which about 70,000 alone reach and cross the Rhine at Mayence ; *battle*, during his retreat, of *Hanau* (defeat of the Bavarians under Wrede by Napoleon) :—Bavaria had already seceded from the Confederation of the Rhine, and made an alliance with Austria

Consequences of the Battle of Leipsic. '1. Dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, of the Kingdom of Westphalia, and the Grand-duchies of Frankfort and Berg. 2. The surrender of all the French garrisons except Hamburg. 3. The re-conquest of Holland, the Dutch rising at the same time against the French, by Bülow, and proclamation of the Prince of Orange as sovereign of the Netherlands. 4. Invasion of Denmark (in alliance with Napoleon) by Bernadotte, and forced surrender by Denmark of Norway to Sweden. 5. Restoration of the Tyrol and Illyria to Austria. 6. Alliance of Murat, King of Naples, with Austria for the expulsion of the French from Italy. 7. Treaty of Neutrality with Napoleon formed by Switzerland, as yet too weak to throw off the French yoke.'—*P.* 'The victory of Leipsic made the German war in the fullest sense a popular war. The princes, and with them the nations (according to German usage), arose, and threw off the chains of the Confederation of the Rhine. Even before the victory Bavaria gave the signal : Würtemberg, Baden, and the rest followed. Every one that could bear, seized arms ; the plough and the workshops were abandoned ; the lecture-rooms and the counting-houses were deserted ; even young women, dissembling their sex, hastened in arms to the ranks of the combatants, while matrons, undismayed at contagion or death, nursed the sick and wounded. Long will their memory live in the history

* Read Béranger's beautiful ballad, *Poniatowski*, beginning 'Quoi, vous fuyez,' &c., &c.

of Germany, as an example to future generations.'—*H. M.* The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, now broken up, secure their hereditary dominions by a timely secession from Napoleon. 'The King of Westphalia and Saxony, the Grand-duke of Frankfort, and the Princes of Isenburg and von der Leyen, who had sinned too heavily against Germany, were alone excluded from pardon. The King of Saxony was at first carried prisoner to Berlin, and afterwards, under the protection of Austria, to Prague. Denmark also concluded peace at Kiel, and ceded Norway to Sweden, upon which the Swedes, *quasi re bene passi*, returned home.'—*M.* Blücher with his army crosses the Rhine at Mannheim, Caub, Coblenz, December 31, 1813. *Declaration* previously, December 1st, of the allied sovereigns at *Frankfort*; peace offered to Napoleon; the boundaries of France to be the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees; rejected by Napoleon.

INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ARMIES OF THE ALLIES, JANUARY 1814. 'The three great armies, amounting to more than 500,000 men; the grand army of Schwarzenberg; the army of Silesia under Blücher; the army of the North under Bernadotte, including the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian reserves; the Austrians in Italy under Bellegarde; the British and Portuguese under Wellington in the South of France, the Anglo-Sicilians and the Spanish armies about Catalonia, the total was a mass of 1,028,041 men acting against the French Empire; against whom Napoleon could hardly muster 400,000 men, including those blockaded in the fortresses on the Elbe, the Oder, in Italy, in Holland, the army under Eugène in Italy, in Béarn under Soult, in Catalonia under Suchet, at Lyons under Angereau, and with Napoleon himself, the corps of Victor, Marmont, Morand, Macdonald, Mortier, and Ney.'—*A.*

Campaign of the Allied Armies in France, on the lines of the Seine and the Marne. *Battles of Brienne and La Rothière* (Napoleon defeated by the Prussians under Blücher). Separation of the allied armies; famous cross-march of Napoleon; *battles of Champaubert and Montmirail* (the Russians under Sacken and Olsoofief defeated by Napoleon). *Congress held at Chatillon*, but without granting a truce, from February 3 to March 13: comes to nothing. *Battle of Château-Thierry* (defeat of the Prussians under York by Napoleon); *battle of Vauchamp* (defeat of the Prussians under Blücher by Napoleon); advance of the grand army under Schwarzenberg and the allied sovereigns along the Seine to Fontainebleau; Napoleon falls upon its

scattered corps—disastrous consequences of Schwarzenberg's mistaken system; *battle of Nangis* (defeat of the Russians under Pahlen by Napoleon); *battle of Villeneuve-le-Comte* (defeat of the Austrians under Wrede by Napoleon); obstinately contested and bloody *battle of Montereau* (defeat of the Austrians under the Crown Prince of Würtemberg by Napoleon); **retreat of the grand army to Bar-sur-Aube.** 'Although the decisive moment had arrived, and Schwarzenberg had simply to form a junction with Blücher to bring an overwhelming force against Napoleon, the allied sovereigns and Schwarzenberg resolved, in a council of war held at Troyes, upon a general retreat.'—*M.* 'They even commenced fruitless negotiations for an armistice, and the fate of Europe was again at stake.'—*H. M.* *Treaty of Chaumont between the four Allied Powers, March 1st, 1814.* 'Napoleon's confidence in his good destiny led him to reject the terms which he probably might have obtained at Chaumont, and he would not forego the condition that the Rhine should be the frontier of France. The four Powers saw that only a firm agreement among themselves would prevent a peace which would throw away all the successes which they had obtained.'—*K. P. H.* **Gallant advance of the Silesian Army under Blücher.** 'Blücher resolved at all hazards to obviate the disastrous consequences of the retreat of the allied army, and, in defiance of all commands, pushed forward alone.'—*M.* **Bloody skirmishes at Bar-sur-Aube and Guillotière** (defeat of the French under Oudinot and Macdonald by a portion of the grand allied army under Wittgenstein, Pahlen, and Wrede). **Obstinately contested and bloody battle of Craon** (Napoleon against the Russians and Prussians under Blücher, Sacken, and Woronzow). 'The most terrible struggle, if we except Albuera and Culm, of the whole Revolutionary war, and one in which it is hard to say to which side of the heroic antagonists the palm of victory is to be awarded. The loss on both sides was enormous, and, save at Albuera, unprecedented in proportion to the numbers engaged.'—*A.* **Battle of Laon** (defeat of Napoleon by the Prussians and Russians under Blücher, Bülow, and Winzingerode); successes of Prince Eugène on the Po; defeat of Augereau at Limonet, and fall of Lyons; recapture of Rheims by Napoleon; indecisive *battles of Arcis-sur-Aube* (between Napoleon and the grand army under Schwarzenberg); march of Napoleon on St. Dizier to intercept the communications of the allies. 'Napoleon confidently expected that his diminished armies would be supported by a general rising *en masse*, and that Augereau would form a junction with him: in this expectation he threw himself to the rear of the allied forces, and took up a

position at Troyes with a view of cutting them off, perhaps of surrounding them by means of the general rising, or, at all events, of drawing them back to the Rhine.—*M.* *Battle of St. Dizier* (defeat of Winzingerode, who had followed Napoleon thither): *the allied armies form a junction and march upon Paris*; the two *battles of Fere-Champenoise* (defeat of Marmont and Mortier, and total destruction of the corps of Pachtod by the allies under Schwarzenberg and Blücher); *battle close to Paris, and storming of the heights of Montmartre* by the allied armies; **THE ALLIES ENTER PARIS; MARCH 31, 1814.**

Treaty of Fontainebleau between the allies and Napoleon, who abdicates at Fontainebleau and retires to Elba, April 11th. **PEACE OF PARIS; BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE ALLIES**: France reduced to her boundaries in 1792; and allowed to retain Alsace and Lorraine: ‘of which she had at an early period deprived Germany;’* Austria assenting on the condition of Italy being placed exclusively under her control.—*M.* Visit of Frederic William III., King of Prussia, and of Alexander, Emperor of Russia, to England, accompanied by their generals, Blücher, Platoff, and others. **CONGRESS OF VIENNA**, from November 1, 1814, to May 25, 1815; attended in person by the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Denmark, the Emperor of Russia, and numerous German princes and grand-dukes, and the great statesmen Metternich, Hardenberg, Nesselrode, Humboldt, and Castlereagh; long and weary negotiations. ‘Le Congrès danse, mais il n’avance pas.’ **Return of Napoleon from Elba; March 1, 1815.** ‘The news of Napoleon’s return fortunately reached the Congress while still sitting. This rendered the most speedy and decisive measures possible, and they were accordingly adopted. By a special act the usurper was declared the enemy of nations, and to have forfeited the protection of the laws; and all the powers, both great and small, immediately entered into a firm combination against him. The fortune of war might waver; but his final overthrow seemed inevitable; for the princes could now depend on the hearty concurrence of their respective nations.’—*H. M.*

The Congress of Vienna at last brought to a conclu-

* Referred to in Arndt’s well-known ballad of *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland*, in the stanza:

‘Ist, was der Fürsten Trug zerklaut,
Vom Kaiser und vom Reich geraubt?’

sion by the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba. '*Voilà le Congrès dissous !*' Its results,* as far as Germany was concerned, were, very briefly: '1. That Belgium and Holland should constitute one kingdom, the Stadtholder of Holland being created King of "the Kingdom of the Netherlands." 2. That Austria, in return for the cession of Belgium and West Galicia, should gain the Lombardo-Venetian provinces (Venice, Milan, and the Valtellin), Ferrara, Piacenza, the Illyrian provinces, with Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Cattaro, the Tyrol, and Salzburg. 3. That Prussia should gain the Grand-duchy of Posen with Dantzic and Thorn; part of the Duchy of Warsaw; Swedish Pomerania and Rügen from Denmark, in exchange for Lauenburg; the restoration of her ancient possessions in Westphalia and Neuchâtel; the Rhenish provinces, lost in 1795 and since that date; and part of Saxony. 4. That Bavaria, in return for the provinces again ceded by her to Austria, should receive the province of Würzburg with Aschaffenburg and the Upper Rhenish Pfalz, under the title of Rhenish Bavaria. 5. That Hanover should receive East Friesland, hitherto dependent on Prussia. 6. That the Electorates of Hesse, Brunswick, and of Oldenburg should be restored. 7. *The substitution of a Germanic Confederation for the ancient German Empire.*†

ENORMOUS FORCES, amounting to not less than 986,000 men, **RAISED BY THE ALLIES**, on the news of the escape of Napoleon from Elba: his attempts to open negotiations with the Emperors of Austria and Russia rejected. Three great armies formed for immediate operations, 1st, of Austrians and Bavarians under Schwarzenberg; 2nd, of Prussians under Blücher; 3rd, of English, Hanoverians, and Belgians under Wellington; England supplies subsidies, in all, of 11,000,000*l.*

Campaign of the Prussian army under Blücher, and of the English, Hanoverians, and Belgians under Wellington, in Belgium against the French under Napoleon. *Battle of Ligny*, June 16 (defeat of Blücher, under whom served Bülow and Ziethen, by Napoleon). 'The fight throughout the whole village of Ligny was now at the hottest: the place was literally crammed with the combatants, and its streets and enclosures were choked up with the wounded, the dying, and the dead: every house that had escaped being set on fire was the scene of a desperate struggle: the troops fought no longer in combined order, but in numerous and irregular groups, separated by houses either in flames, or held as little forts, sometimes by one, sometimes by the other party: and in various instances, when their ammunition

* The results of the Congress of Vienna are given at length in Alison, *Hist. of the Fr. Revol.* vol. x., and briefly in Putz's *Handbook of Mod. Hist.* p. 183. See also Knight's *Pop. Hist. of England*, vol. viii.

† See below, after the battle of Waterloo.

failed, or when they found themselves suddenly assailed from different sides, the bayonet, and even the butt, supplied them with the ready means for prosecuting the dreadful carnage with unmitigated fury. The entire village was concealed in smoke; but the incessant rattle of the musketry, the crashing of burning timbers, the smashing of doors and gateways, the yells and imprecations of the combatants, which were heard through that misty veil, gave ample indication to the troops posted in reserve upon the heights, of the fierce and savage nature of the struggle beneath. In the meantime the relieving batteries on the Prussian side, which had arrived quite fresh from the rear, came into full play, as did also a reinforcement, on the French side, from the artillery of the Imperial guard. The earth now trembled under the tremendous cannonade; and as the flames, issuing from the numerous burning houses, intermingled with dense volumes of smoke, shot directly upwards through the light grey mass which rendered the village undistinguishable, and seemed continually to thicken, the scene resembled for a time some violent convulsion of nature, rather than a human conflict—as if the valley had been rent asunder, and Ligny had become the focus of a burning crater.

‘Long did this fierce and deadly strife continue without any material advance being made on either side. At length the French gained possession of a large house, as also of the churchyard, into which they brought forward two pieces of cannon. General von Jagow vainly endeavoured with the 7th regiment to retake this house. The first battalion of the 3rd Westphalian Landwehr displayed the most inflexible perseverance in its endeavours to drive the French out again from the churchyard: it made three unsuccessful attempts to cross an intervening ditch, and subsequently tried to gain a hollow way, which lay in the flank of that post, but falling upon the French reinforcements that were advancing towards it, they were compelled to abandon the enterprise.

‘Fresh victims were still required to satiate the “king of terrors,” who might be said to hold a gala-day in this “valley of death.” . . .

‘Notwithstanding their dreadfully exhausted and enfeebled state, and their knowledge that a body of fresh troops was advancing against them—a body, too, which they knew was invariably employed whenever some great and decisive blow was to be struck, the Prussians evinced not the slightest symptom of irresolution, but, on the contrary, were animated by the most inflexible courage. The sun had gone down, shrouded in heavy clouds, and rain having set in, the battle-field would speedily be enveloped in darkness: hence the Prussians felt that it required but a little more perseverance in their exertions, to enable them to counterbalance their deficiency of numbers upon any point of their line, by a stern and resolute resistance; sufficient to secure for the entire of their army the means of effecting a retreat; unattended by those disastrous consequences, which a signal defeat in the light of day might have entailed upon them.’—*Sub. W. C.*

Battle of Waterloo, June 18 (defeat of the French under Napoleon by the English and Hanoverians under Wellington, aided towards the close of the day by the Prussians under Blücher). ‘The Prussians, fired by enthusiasm, forgot the fatigues they had for four days endured, and, favoured by a moonlight night, so zealously pursued the French that an immense number of prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, fell into their hands, and Napoleon narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. At Genappe, where the bridge was blocked by fugitives, the pursuit was so close that he was compelled to abandon his carriage, leaving his sword and hat behind him. Blücher, who reached the spot a moment afterwards, took possession of the booty, sent Napoleon’s hat,

sword, and star to the King of Prussia,* retained his cloak, telescope, and carriage for his own use, and gave up everything else, including a quantity of the most valuable jewellery, gold, and money, to his brave soldiers.'—*M.* Schwarzenberg at the head of the Austrian army during the above period enters France: defeat of the French under General Rapp at Strasburg by the Prince of Würtemberg: advance of the Prussians and the English on Paris; defeat of the French by the Prussians at *Issy*. **Second occupation of Paris by the Allies, July 1815. Second Treaty of Paris,† November 1815;** 'by which France is allowed to retain Alsace and Lorraine, but gives up four fortresses on the border; and agrees to pay a contribution to the expenses of the war of 700,000,000 ff., and to restore the works of art of which she had pillaged nearly every capital in Europe.'—*A.* Occupation of France by the troops of the allied sovereigns till 1818. Napoleon surrenders to the English, and is sent to St. Helena.

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION IN THE PLACE OF THE ANCIENT EMPIRE.

'The ancient Empire, instead of being re-established, was replaced by a German Confederation, composed of thirty-nine German States that had escaped the general ruin; the principal of which were Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Darmstadt, Brunswick, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Nassau. On Frankfort-on-Maine a permanent Diet, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the thirty-nine States, was to hold its session. The votes, however, were so regulated that the eleven States of first rank alone held a full vote, the secondary States merely holding half or the fourth part of a vote; as for instance, all the Saxon duchies collectively, one vote; Brunswick and Nassau, one; the two Mecklenburgs, one; the petty princes of Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Lippe, and Waldeck, one; all the free towns, one; and so forth. Austria held the permanent presidency. All the members of the Confederation bound themselves neither to enter into war nor any foreign alliance against the Confederation or any of its members. Another article declared, "Each of the confederated States will grant a Constitution to the people." Another placed all Christian sects throughout the German Confederation on an equality. Another granted freedom of settlement within the limits of the Confederation, and promised uniformity of regulation concerning the liberty of the press.'‡—*M.*

The *ACT OF CONFEDERATION* signed June 8,

* These trophies are still preserved in the Museum of the Arsenal at Berlin.

† See Heeren's *Manual of the Pol. Stat. Syst. of Modern Europe*, vol. ii. period iii. p. 356, for the particulars of this treaty.

‡ The Articles of the Germanic Confederation and a list of the States composing it are given at length in Heeren's *Man. of the Pol. Stat. Syst. of Mod. Europe*, vol. ii. period iii. p. 407 *seqq.* See also the sketch of the German Confederation at the end of this work.

1815, but **THE CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION** not **PERFECTED** till the Conferences of Vienna, **DECEMBER 1819 to MAY 1820.**

'When Napoleon's universal monarchy had dissolved, and old landmarks showed themselves again above the receding waters, it was commonly supposed that the Empire would be re-established on its former footing. Such was indeed the wish of many States, and among them of Hanover, representing Great Britain. Though a simple revival of the Romano-Germanic Empire was plainly out of the question, it still appeared to them that Germany would be best off under the presidency of a single head, intrusted with the ancient office of maintaining peace among the members of the Confederation. But the new kingdoms, Bavaria especially, were unwilling to admit a superior; Prussia, elated by the glory she had won in the War of Independence, would have disputed the crown with Austria; Austria herself cared little to resume an office shorn of much of its dignity, with duties to perform and no resources to enable her to discharge them. Use was therefore made of an expression of the Peace of Paris which spoke of uniting Germany by a federative bond, and the Congress of Vienna was decided by the wishes of Austria to establish a Confederation. Thus was brought about the present Germanic federal constitution, which is itself confessed, by the attempts so often made to reform it, to be a mere temporary expedient.'—*Dr.*

Territorial adjustment of the different States of Germany,* and the New Constitutions (most of them illusory boons); 1815 and 1816. Bitter disappointment of the hopes of the Liberal and Patriotic party throughout Germany; suppression of the *Turnschulen* (the gymnastic schools established by Professor Jahn) and of the *Burschenschaften* (Students' Clubs) throughout Germany. Persecution of the Liberal party in Austria and Prussia; suppression of the *Rhenish Mercury* and other patriotic newspapers; arrest and suspension of Professor Jahn, Arndt, Fries, Gorres, and others, who had rendered distinguished services to their country during the War of Liberation; emigration of many of the leading men of the popular party to America.

The Holy Alliance between Austria, Prussia, Russia, 1815, joined by France, 1818.—'nominally for the maintenance of peace, religion, and virtue, and the government of their subjects as parents; in reality a league between the four sovereigns, Francis II. of Austria, Frederic William III. of Prussia, Alexander, Emperor of Russia, and Louis XVIII., King of France, for mutual assistance and support, and maintenance of the principles of legitimacy.'—*K.* Congress of the

* See Brewer's *Atlas*, no. xiii.

German sovereigns held at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818; at Trop-pau, 1820; at Laybach, 1821; at Töplitz, 1833. Return of the Jesuits to Austria, 1820. Intervention of the Austrians in Italy, 1821, against the Italian revolutionary party in Italy; march of an Austrian army to Naples, under Count Walmoden; defeat of the revolutionists under General Pepe: restoration of the King of Naples. March of an Austrian army also to Piedmont, defeat of the revolutionary party there by the Austrians, and occupation of Genoa by their army. *THE ZOLLVEREIN*, or German Customs' Union, first set on foot by Louis, King of Bavaria, 1825, 'by a commercial treaty between him and William, King of Würtemberg. This example was imitated by Prussia; afterwards by Hesse, Hanover, Saxony, and the other German States, about 1828.'—*M.*

Important Reforms introduced into Prussia from 1808-1812 by the Baron von Stein and the Chancellor Hardenberg; viz., 'removal of restrictions on industry, equalisation of taxation, abolition of hereditary serfdom, the establishment of an approach to a representative government, and other liberal measures.' Provincial estates, in 1823, substituted for those of the kingdom. *In Austria*, on the contrary, *repressive and arbitrary measures are adopted* through the influence of Prince Metternich; viz., restriction of the liberty of the Press, government surveillance of the Universities, &c., &c.

Riots and Revolutionary Insurrections in some parts of Germany follow the French and Belgian Revolutions of 1830. Revolution in Brunswick; Charles, Duke of Brunswick, is deposed, and his brother William elected in his stead. Constitutions* are extorted from the sovereigns of Saxony, Hesse-Cassel, and Hanover.

Death of the Emperor Francis II. of Austria: he is succeeded by his son, **Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria**,

* On these, and the struggles of the Provincial Diets of the minor States in behalf of Reform, freedom of the press, abolition of the censorship, and of imprisonment for political offences, &c., &c., read Menzel, vol. iii. chs. cclxx., cclxxi.

1835. 'The absolute system rigidly maintained—no change is made in the autocratic and bureaucratic system of government of which Prince Metternich * continued to be the directing principle.'—*P. and M.* 'Après moi le déluge!' 'But the deluge came in his time.'

PERIOD OF ABOUT TEN YEARS, DURING WHICH TRANQUILLITY PREVAILS OVER GERMANY: GREAT MATERIAL PROSPERITY OF THE COUNTRY.

Death of Frederic William III. of Prussia: he is succeeded by his son, **Frederic William IV., King of Prussia**; † **1840.** 'Important concessions to the Liberal Party immediately introduced—the relaxation of the censorship, the summoning of the provincial diets every two (instead of every three) years, publicity of the courts of justice, an edict published respecting religious toleration, and the formation, out of the provincial diets, of a "United National Diet," with the power of contracting loans and imposing taxes, but with only the power of advising on questions of legislation.'—*P.* Railways opened in North Germany; 1841. Progress in Prussia of Constitutional ideas, increasing passion for freedom and Constitutional Government, and demands for Reform.

RIOTS, INSURRECTIONS, and REVOLUTIONS OF 1848, consequent on the French Revolution of that year. Popular outbreaks almost simultaneously at Carlsruhe, Stuttgart, Nassau, Cologne, and Munich, about the end of February and the beginning of March, 1848; and a little later at Vienna and Berlin; about March 9 and 18. 'Still more serious and formidable (than in France) were the convulsions in Germany; for there were men inspired with the Teutonic love of freedom, and wielding the arms which so long had been victorious in the fields of European fame. So violent were the shocks of the revolutionary earthquake in the Fatherland, that the entire disruption of society and ruin of the national independence seemed to be threatened by its effects. Government was overturned after a violent contest in Berlin. It fell almost without a struggle, from the pusillanimity of its members, in Vienna. The Prussians, especially in the great towns, entered, with the characteristic ardour of their disposition, into the career of revolution; universal suffrage was everywhere proclaimed—national guards established. The lesser States on the Rhine all followed the example of Berlin; and an assembly of delegates

* Read ch. cclxxi. in Menzel, vol. iii. '*Austria and Prince Metternich.*'

† On the whole of the period from the close of the War of Liberation till the Revolutions of 1848, read Alison's *Hist. of Europe since 1815*, vol. v. ch. xxvii.

from every part of the Fatherland, at Frankfort, seemed to realise for a brief period the dream of German unity and independence. But while the enthusiasts on the Rhine were speculating on the independence of their country, the enthusiasts in Vienna and Hungary were taking the most effectual steps to destroy it. A frightful civil war ensued in all the Austrian provinces, and soon acquired such strength as threatened to tear in pieces the whole of its vast dominions. No sooner was the central authority in Vienna overturned, than rebellion broke out in all the provinces. The Slavonians revolted in Bohemia, the Lombards in Italy, the Magyars in Hungary; the close vicinity of a powerful Russian force alone restrained the Poles in Galicia. Worse, even, because more widely felt, than the passions of democracy, the animosities of Race burst forth with fearful violence in Eastern Europe. The standard of Georgey in Hungary—whom the Austrians, distracted by civil war in all their provinces, were unable to subdue—soon attracted a large part of the indignant Poles, and nearly the whole of the warlike Magyars, to the field of battle on the banks of the Danube. Not a hope seemed to remain of the great and distracted Austrian Empire. Chaos had returned; society seemed resolved into its original elements; and the chief bulwark of Europe against Muscovite domination appeared on the point of being broken up into several separate States, actuated by the most violent hatred of each other, and alike incapable, singly or together, of making head against the vast and centralised power of Russia.—*A. Mod. Eur.*

Commencement of tumults and disturbances in Vienna, March 12 and 13; 1848. Prince Metternich's palace sacked by the mob. Revolutionary disturbances in Bohemia and Hungary, under the influence of Kossuth. Revolt and fight in Prague; the rebellion quelled after forty-eight hours' bombardment of the town by Prince Windischgrätz; **Revolt of Hungary**; flight of the Emperor, Ferdinand I., from Vienna, to Innsbruck; Vienna in the entire possession of the Revolutionist Party: War commenced in Hungary, under Kossuth, as Minister, and Count Louis Bathiany; Georgey, Bem, and Dembinsky, generals: the Croats, under their Ban Jellalich, remain faithful to the Emperor, and march on Vienna in aid of the Austrian army under Prince Schwarzenberg and Windischgrätz; bombardment of Vienna; defence of the town by the insurgents; attempt of the Hungarian army to raise the siege; *battle of Schwechat*, near Vienna; defeat of the Hungarians under Georgey by the Austrians under Windischgrätz; surrender of Vienna after a fierce defence; October 31. The town again occupied by the Imperial troops. Abdication of

the Emperor Ferdinand I., December 2, 1848, in favour of his grandson, **Francis Joseph I., Emperor**; grant of a new Constitution, of the most liberal kind. 'Less violent in the outset, but more disastrous far in the end, were the means by which Austria was brought through the throes of her revolutionary convulsion. It was the army, and the army alone, which in the last extremity saved the State; but, unhappily, it was not the national army alone which achieved the deliverance. So violent were the passions by which the country was torn, so great the power of the rival races and nations which contended for its mastery, that the unaided strength of the monarchy was unequal to the task of subduing them. In Prague, indeed, the firmness of Windischgrätz extinguished the revolt; in Italy the consummate talents of Radetzky restored victory to the Imperial standards, and drove the Piedmontese to a disgraceful peace; and in the heart of the monarchy, Vienna, after a fierce struggle, was regained by the united arms of the Bohemians and Croatsians.'—*A. M. E.*

Meanwhile, during the above period, March 18, 1848, **Tumults and Riots in Berlin**; Proclamation of the King, Frederick William IV., putting himself forward as the head of the liberal party; renewed fight, and defeat of the Royal troops, and submission of the King; grant of a new Constitution; April 2. Commencement of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute; invasion of the Duchies by the Prussians, and battle of Düppel, indecisive; and conclusion of an armistice. Renewal of the riots in Berlin; firmness of the Royal army under the command of Marshal Wrangel; the Assembly is finally dissolved by force, and the **King** becomes completely **master of the situation**. Fresh Constitution proclaimed by the king, December 5. 'The Prussian army by its loyalty saved the crown from destruction, and the people from the destruction of liberty by democratic despotism. The constitution which their fidelity enabled the King to give them contained, as the event proved, at least as much liberty as they could bear: anything beyond it would have been nothing but republican tyranny.'—*A. M. E.*

Violent outbreak, tumults, and insurrection, a little later in the same year, 1848, at Frankfort, quelled, after severe fighting, by the Austrian and Prussian troops. Revolt at Baden, under Struve, at the head of a body of French, Polish, and Italian refugees; put down, after a battle, by the Baden troops.

Meanwhile, from February, 1848, to August, 1849, **Insurrection against the Austrians in the North of Italy**; aided by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia;

expulsion of the Austrians from Milan: they are driven back by the Sardinian and Italian forces as far as the Adige. Battles and sieges in Lombardy; the principal Austrian generals were Marshal Radetzky, Count Nugent, Count Clam, General Giulay, the Archduke Albert. 'Great ability of Radetzky. He waits for the right moment to take the offensive. His words to his soldiers were: "Soldiers, the war will be short!"'—*J. G. L.* The principal battles, *Santa Lucia*, indecisive; *Goito*, the Austrians defeated; *Monte Berici*, near Vicenza, the Austrians victorious; *Rivoli*, the Austrians defeated; *Custoza*, the Austrians victorious; *Somma Campagna*, the Austrians defeated; *Vallegio*, the Austrians victorious. 'Three desperate battles fought on three successive days.' Retreat of the Piedmontese; capitulation of Milan. Meanwhile a Republic is proclaimed at Venice, which is blockaded by the Austrians; revolution at Rome and flight of the Pope, Pius IX., proclamation of a Republic under the Triumvirs. Battle of *Mostara*, the Austrians victorious, and *decisive victory of Novara*; defeat, after heroic exertions, of Charles Albert, and abdication in favour of his son, the Duke of Savoy (now Victor Emanuel I., King of Italy, 'il rè galantuomo'); armistice and submission of Sardinia. 'Very briefly, the principal terms were, payment by Piedmont of the expenses of the war, and evacuation by them of Lombardy, Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, and withdrawal of their fleet from the Adriatic. The Austrians showed moderation in the hour of victory.' Insurrection, meanwhile, in Sicily; suppressed with frightful cruelty by Ferdinand II., King of Naples, 'il rè Bomba.' Siege and taking of Rome by the French; gallant defence by Garibaldi; blockade, starvation, and surrender of Venice* to the Austrians; 1849.

Continuation of the war in Hungary and Transylvania, 1849: the Austrian forces under Windischgrätz, Jellalich, Ban of Croatia, Haynau, Rüdiger, Simonich, against

* There is a touching ballad called 'L'Ultima Ora di Venezia,' by Arnaldo Fusinato, on the sufferings and surrender of Venice, in his little volume entitled *Prose di Giovanni Borchet*. I myself have heard, during visits that I have paid to Venice, tales of the dreadful sufferings then undergone.

the Hungarians, under Georgey, Bem, Dembinsky, Klapka, Perczel, Nagy Sandor; their government organised and directed by Count Bathiany (till his arrest and execution), and by Kossuth. The **Principal Events**; advance of the Austrians, occupation of Pesth, and blockade by the Austrians of Komorn and Peterwardein, retreat of the Hungarians behind the Theiss in the depth of winter, January, 1849. 'All the horrors of civil war began now to appear. The retreat to Debreczin was conducted under the most disastrous circumstances, the weather being dreadful, the cold five degrees below zero, and the army encumbered by an immense multitude of old men, women, and children in the last stage of starvation and suffering.'—*A. M. E.* **Battle of Kapolna**, the Austrians victorious. *Victories of the Hungarians* under Bem near *Kronstadt* in Transylvania; advance of the Hungarians on Pesth; *battles of Isaszeg and Waizen*, the Hungarians victorious; the siege of Komorn raised by the Austrians, who also evacuate Pesth; storm by the Hungarians of Buda, which is gallantly defended by General Hentzi and the Croats; Hentzi killed. *Proclamation of Hungarian Independence*; *Kossuth Dictator*. Immense energy shown by the Revolutionary Hungarian Government; alliance of the Emperor, Francis Joseph II., with Russia; advance of a Russian army of 150,000 men under Marshal Paskewitch, the Grand-duke Constantine, and Paniutine, into Hungary to aid the Austrians. Successes of the Hungarians under Perczel in the South. 'Before the Muscovite's succour could reach the scene of action on the banks of the Danube, disasters had accumulated to such a degree that it had become evident, that, without foreign aid speedily administered, the Austrian Empire would be inevitably ruined.'—*A. M. E.* **Battle of Pered**, defeat, after an obstinate contest, of the Hungarians; fiercely-contested *battles of Acz and Komorn*; the first indecisive; in the second, the Hungarians defeated. *Battles of Waizen and Tzombor*, indecisive. *Battles of Poroslo and Debreczin*; the first indecisive; in the second the Hungarians defeated. Successes meantime of the Hungarians under Bem at *Taad* and elsewhere, but he is defeated at *Segesvar*; and at first victorious, but afterwards overthrown, at *Hermannstadt*; *battle of Szegedin*, indecisive; great and final **battle of**

Temeswar, defeat of the united Hungarian armies after a most gallant conflict; Kossuth resigns the Dictatorship; *surrender of Georgey and his army* to the Russians under General Rüdiger at *Boros-Jeno*, of the other detachments afterwards, and finally of *Klapka at Komorn*, after a prolonged defence. Execution of fourteen of the most distinguished Hungarian officers, and **end of the war and the insurrection, August, 1849.** 'But in Hungary the Magyars were not so easily overcome. Such was the valour of that warlike race, and such the military talents of their chiefs, that, although not numbering more than a third of the population of Hungary, and an eighth of that of the whole monarchy, it was found impracticable to subdue them without external aid. The Russians, as a matter of necessity, were called in to prevent the second capture of Vienna; a hundred and sixty thousand Muscovites ere long appeared on the Hungarian plains; numbers triumphed over valour, and Austria was saved by the sacrifice of its independence. Incalculable have been the consequences of this great and decisive movement on the part of the Czar. Not less than the capture of Paris, it has fascinated and subdued the minds of men. It has rendered him the undisputed master of the East of Europe, and led to a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, which at the convenient season will open to the Russians the road to Constantinople.'—*A. H. M. E.*

Flight of Kossuth and the chief Hungarian generals to Turkey: the demands of Russia and Austria for their extradition are courageously refused by Turkey.

Offer, by the deputation of the Frankfort Parliament, of the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia; which he refuses. Promulgation of a new Electoral law for Prussia. Violent quarrels of the Frankfort Parliament and secession of a portion of its members. Tumult, outbreak, and insurrection in Dresden; formation of a Revolutionary provisional Government; severe fighting in the streets; the revolt is finally quelled by the aid of Prussian troops sent from Berlin, 1849.

Revision, next year, of the Prussian Constitution; further concessions made to the Liberal Party. Violent disputes between Prussia and Austria, with which latter power Bavaria takes part. War nearly breaks out between them; 1850.

Conferences held between the German sovereigns at Dresden: nothing comes of them. *Restoration of the old Frankfort Diet*; re-commencement in this year, 1851, of

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the Schleswig-Holstein Question; the agitation* is continued till 1863, when war breaks out.

Concordat between Austria and the Papal See; August, 1855;† whereby the Emperor Francis Joseph I. surrenders to the Pope the whole jurisdiction over the clergy in his own dominions, and binds himself ever to maintain the Roman Catholic faith in all its rights and privileges throughout the Austrian Empire and its dependencies. 'By this instrument, the proud monarchy of Austria surrendered to the Roman See greater rights and privileges than had ever been extorted in the palmiest days of Papal power from any German sovereign.'—*A. R.*

Austria, Prussia, and the other States of Germany maintain neutrality during the Crimean War of 1854 and 1855.

Germany and all Europe in a state of profound peace from 1856 to 1859.

Marriage of the Prince of Prussia, Frederic William, to the Princess Royal of England; 1858.

War of Austria against Sardinia and France in the North of Italy; 1859. Prussia and the German Bund remain neutral. The causes of the war were, mainly, the undisguised sympathy professed by the government of Victor Emanuel for the cause of Italian independence, which simply meant throwing off the Austrian yoke; the unfriendly relations that had existed between the two governments since the battle of Novara; the growth of Austrian influence in Italy, shown in the treaties made between the Empire and the States of Tuscany, Modena and Parma, by the

* For this the Danes had undoubtedly given considerable cause, from their violation of the terms of the agreement between Denmark and the Duchies, by enforcing the use of the Danish language, law, and form of religion on a German population.

† The provisions of this degrading Concordat, by which the Emperor bound himself not to interfere with the appointment of the archbishops, bishops, or any of the orders of clergy, to permit their having free communication with the See of Rome, to subject the whole course of instruction both in public and private schools of the Catholic youth of the country to ecclesiastical superintendence, to allow of no book being published, or circulated, contrary to that Faith, &c., &c., are given in the *Annual Register for 1855*, ch. x. p. 280.

occupation of the Legations by her troops, and by the predominance of her authority at Naples; and not least the assurance felt by Victor Emanuel that he might count on France for support in case of war. 'There can be little doubt that the reason why Sardinia took part in the war against Russia in the Crimea—a quarrel in which she had no direct conceivable interest—was to conciliate the friendship and engage the alliance of the Western Powers, upon whose protection she might rely in case of a second collision with Austria; and it was to France that Victor Emanuel chiefly looked for military support—nor did he look in vain.'—*A. R.* Fruitless efforts of the British Government to maintain peace. Austria calls upon Sardinia to disarm; manifesto of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French; advance of the Austrian army across the Ticino under General Gyulai, Count Stadion, General Count Clam, and General Benedek; and of the French army into Piedmont, under the Emperor Napoleon III., and Marshals Baraguay d'Hilliers, Canrobert, Vaillant, and Generals M'Mahon, Forey, Niel, Espinasse, Beuret, Bazaine, and St. Jean d'Angely.

The Sardinian army was commanded by King Victor Emanuel in person (his able minister, Count Cavour), and by Generals La Marmora and Cialdini, while Garibaldi harassed the Austrians with his free corps called 'les chasseurs des Alpes.' Desperate *combat of Montebello* between the Austrians and the French and Sardinians, indecisive; the Austrians retire across the Ticino: terrible **battle of Magenta**, June 4th, 1859, between the French, slightly assisted by the Sardinians, and the Austrians; the French victorious. 'To give an idea of the deadly nature of the struggle, we will give an extract from an account of the battle by an eye-witness, which appeared in the columns of a contemporary journal:—"You never saw such a frightful scene of carnage as on all this ground, which the Austrians defended inch by inch, but had to leave at last. It is like the remains of a great rag fair; shakoes, knapsacks, muskets, shoes, cloaks, tunics, linen, all stained with blood, and speaking of the obstinate resistance even now, when the greater part of the wounded have been removed and the dead mostly buried. Of how many dramas of heroism and ferocity, and of how many tragedies of woe and misery, must this have been the scene! But the fiercest fight was further behind, on the railway line and the station-house behind it, and the village close by. Pressed back all along the line, the Austrians concentrated here all their efforts of resistance. In front of the station, beyond the line of rails, is a large long pit, extending for some distance to the right and left, and formed by the excavations necessary for the construction of the line. Where the pit ceases, a line of strong

wood railings, painted yellow, is put up for some distance on both sides to prevent passing across the line. Besides this, the railway bank, which is somewhat raised, forms a kind of ready parapet, behind which the defenders enjoyed some protection. The station, as well as the neighbouring buildings and a square, solid campanile, were filled with riflemen, while the troops of the line massed themselves in front of them. As the troops came up, they were brought out here, and took the place of their exhausted comrades. To carry this strong position, the fusiliers and chasseurs of the Guard were ordered forward. They broke through, driving the enemy before them, until their course was arrested by the line of strong wooden railings. A few cannon-shot would have easily brought them down, but there was no place whence to bring them to bear, so nothing remained but to tear it down by main force and the axes of the sappers. It was done, and the column entered the village. Here every house had become a castle, held by a desperate garrison; it required a regular combat to take it, and letter after letter could be written on the incidents in which these isolated combats abounded. There is no doubt the Austrians fought desperately, even when everything seemed lost, an incredible number of their officers being killed and wounded: the soldiers were left entirely to themselves in these isolated positions, from which there was no retreat."—*T. N.* Entrance of the allied armies

into Milan. Exploits of Garibaldi in pursuit of the Austrian army; fierce combat at Malegnano, out of which the Austrians are at last driven, and retreat across Lombardy to the Mincio. **Battle of Solferino**, June 24, between the allied armies and the Austrians; the allies victorious; the Austrians retire across the Mincio to the lines of the Quadrilateral; * 'The Austrians unsuccessful through the incapacity of their generals.'—*J. G. L.* **ARMISTICE OF VILLA-FRANCA**; followed by **THE PEACE OF ZÜRICH**, between Austria, France, and Sardinia, the principal condition of which was **THE CESSION OF LOMBARDY TO SARDINIA**; 1859.

In the year 1860, the Reichsrath of the Austrian Empire enlarged, and a new Constitution of the Empire promulgated by the Emperor: the Hungarians are much dissatisfied with it.

Continuance of the discontent in Hungary, during the next, 1861, and following years, even up to the present time; the Hungarians protest against the right of the Reichsrath to legislate for Hungary; general refusal throughout Hungary to pay taxes: the province is placed under a military

* A district forming a kind of irregular square, and one of the strongest positions in the world, the four angles of which were occupied by the fortresses of Mantua, Legnano, Peschiera, and Verona.

dictatorship, and treated more like a conquered country than an integral part of the Austrian Empire.

Death of Frederic William IV.; and accession of **William I.**, his brother, as **King of Prussia**; Jan. 2, 1861.

Commencement in 1862 of the Constitutional struggle in Prussia. Dissolution of the Chambers by the King; dispute between and collision of the Houses of the Prussian Parliament; speeches from the King, Royal messages, and changes of Ministers, continue to succeed each other in Prussia, during this year; followed in the next year, 1863, by arbitrary measures on the part of the King; matters are brought to a dead-lock by the refusal of the Chambers to grant supplies. Re-commencement during this year of the *Schleswig-Holstein Question*; * ferment throughout Germany. Resolutions of the Federal Diet held at Frankfort on the Schleswig-Holstein Question. 'The decision of the Diet was that the Danish Government has not fulfilled the Federal obligations relative to the constitutions of the Duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg, and that Federal execution must be resorted to to enforce their fulfilment.'—*Alm.* Saxon troops of the Germanic Confederation are sent to occupy Holstein; 1863. Holstein is evacuated by the Danes, after the Rigsraad had in vain made concessions as to the constitution of the Duchies.

During the war in Poland, between Russia and Poland, Prussia disgraces herself in the eyes of Europe by truckling to the Czar, and concludes a convention for the delivery up of all Polish refugees in the Prussian frontier.

Congress of German Sovereigns held at Frankfort in this year, 1863, to discuss the **Reform of the German Bund, or Confederation**: † the King of Prussia declines to take part in it: its resolutions and decrees probably utterly valueless.

* For a clear idea, if such be possible, of this difficult question, read the *Annual Register for 1863*, Foreign Hist. chs. ii. and iii.

† Should the reader care to know more on this point, he will find the various Articles given full length in the *Ann. Register for 1863*, Foreign Hist. ch. iv. p. 276.

Appeal of the King of Denmark to the European Powers; 1864. Deputation sent by Holstein to the Federal Diet in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg;* despatch of Earl Russell to the Federal Diet in the fruitless endeavour to bring about a conference for the maintenance of peace between Denmark and Germany, and to prevent the violation of the Treaty of London† of 1852. The Danes evacuate Rendsburg, which is occupied by the Saxon troops of the Confederation, under General Hake, December 31, 1863. The Danes occupy the Dannewerke, 'an ancient line of fortifications near the town of Schleswig, extending nearly six German miles, which they had endeavoured, since 1850, to strengthen by every means in their power, and which now consisted of three lines of entrenchments, armed with heavy guns, connected by intermediate works, and rendered very strong by dykes, *îles du pont*, batteries, blockhouses, and so forth.'—A. R. Advance of the Prussian forces under General von Wrangel, and of the allied Austrian forces under General von Gablenz. The Danes commanded by General de Meza, and afterwards by General de Lüttichau and General Gerlach. 'The Danes receive no help from England or France.'—J. G. L. Severe action at Missunde; the Danes retire; the Prussians cross the Schlei, and turn the flank of the Dannewerke, which the Danes abandon with all its artillery; occupation of Flensburg by the Prussians; the Danish army makes a stand at Düppel opposite Alsen. Fredericia meanwhile is besieged by the Austrians. Valiant defence of Düppel by the Danes under General Gerlach: Schleswig is occupied completely by the allied forces, who appoint commissioners to administer the civil government, and command the use of the German language henceforth exclusively. Fredericia abandoned by the Danes; after a long siege, the Prussians take the lines

* On the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg to the Elbe Duchies, see *Genealogical Chart of the Oldenburg Dynasty*, by Dr. Weinmann, published by Kent & Co., London; or the *Genealogical Chart of the House of Oldenburg*, commonly called *Schleswig-Holstein*, by Mr. F. J. Jeffery, published by Hatton, Piccadilly.

† 'This treaty, to which England and France were parties, professed to secure to the Danish crown all the dominions that belonged to it.'—*Ann. Reg.* for 1864, p. 220.

of Düppel and enter Jutland: tyrannical conduct of the Prussians, who levy enormous contributions on the country: defeat of the Austrian fleet by the Danes near Heligoland, and occupation of Jutland by the Prussians, who cross over into Alsens. Denmark is compelled to submit. 'The capture of Alsens and the abandonment of Fredericia decided the issue of the struggle; and Denmark, isolated as she was in the unequal war, found herself compelled to yield and consent to peace. The principal terms of the treaty of peace were the dismemberment of the Danish monarchy by the cession to Austria and Prussia of the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, and that the war expenses of the allies should be repaid by the Duchies.'—*A. R.* 1864.

The results of the Schleswig-Holstein Question and the war with Denmark were (very briefly), the total disregard, on the part of Prussia and Austria, of the hopes and aspirations of the German Confederation, and the increasing discontent between those two Powers, which threatens, at the present time (August, 1865), but for the financial embarrassments of both countries, to lead to downright war between them. 'The Schleswig-Holstein question has at last entered a phase which everybody can understand. That unfathomable controversy which it is said that one man only ever succeeded in comprehending, and he at the cost of his reason, has now been made transparently clear. It meant simply this—that Germany coveted a bit of Denmark without knowing exactly how to get it, or into whose hands it should be lodged. For years together German Professors laboured hard to prove that the title of the Danish Sovereigns to a certain portion of their dominions was not entirely perfect, and at the last demise of the Danish Crown the minor States of Germany assembled in Congress declared that the Duchies devolved by right, not on the present King of Denmark, but on the Duke of Augustenburg. To this resolution they prepared to give effect by force of arms, when they found themselves rudely elbowed off the scene by Austria and Prussia, which Powers, adopting the German cause in principle, took the execution of the work upon themselves. How they accomplished it, we need not describe. The Danes were driven not only out of Holstein, which was German, but out of Schleswig, which was Danish, and the first result was that the conquerors established in their own favour exactly that state of things which they had declared to be unendurable while it prevailed in favour of Denmark. A mixed population of Danes and Germans had been subjected to a Danish Government; it was now subjected to a German Government, and with at least as much dissatisfaction on the part of the community.

'Then arose the critical question—Who is the heir? The crusade was originally undertaken in the interests of the Duke of Augustenburg, whose claims had been acknowledged and supported by the promoters of the first agitation. These claims have now been utterly discarded by Prussia, and Prussia has also rejected with equal decision the pretensions advanced in favour of other claimants. It results, therefore, that after the King of Denmark has been forcibly dispossessed, those who dispossessed him can produce

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no title to the property in any way superior to his; in fact, the very latest proposition in the matter was this—that, whereas the rightful heir for whom the Duchies had been conquered was found to have no existence, the conquerors should divide the conquest between them by prolonging indefinitely the “joint occupation” which had subsisted since the war. Now, if we consider for a moment that the King of Denmark, against whose claims it is thus found impossible to produce any others, had at any rate been previously recognised by the Powers of Europe as the most desirable successor to the Duchies, we shall be able to estimate the value of the pretensions on which Germany professed to rely in this famous quarrel. King Christian derived an undoubted title to the Duchies from the consent—we might almost say the guarantee—of Europe, and his title by inheritance is now proved to be so good that at any rate no better can be shown. So much for the justice of the war.

Prussia scarcely condescends to disguise the fact that she invaded and conquered the southern provinces of Denmark, not for Germany, nor for any German pretender, nor for anybody, in fact, but herself alone. And she would have appropriated this spoil without shame or hesitation had not the jealousy of a rival stood in her way. Austria is not disposed to permit this aggrandisement of Prussia. The balance of power in that miniature of Europe called the Germanic Confederation is very carefully watched. . . . As it is, Denmark has lost the Duchies, but for whose ultimate advantage it is still not quite possible to say. Two out of the three attacking parties have undoubtedly suffered for their pains. The smaller States of Germany, whose mischievous agitation first kindled the flame, have missed all they aimed at, and have been snubbed into the bargain. No war could have visited them with greater humiliation. Austria will probably be compelled to witness the aggrandisement of her rival by means to which she herself contributed, and to see all that she did in the Danish war redound to the advantage of a formidable and aggressive neighbour. Prussia, it may be said, will gain; but for that conclusion we must yet wait. Certainly, her chance of appropriating and absorbing the Danish Duchies appears a good one, and she is already threatening to extinguish the German spirit in those provinces as effectually as the Danish spirit was suppressed before. But this alienates Germany; while Prussia herself, disturbed and restless, is on the brink of political convulsions which no man can forecast.—*T. N.*

Increasing discontent in Austria in her non-Germanic provinces, Hungary,* Croatia, &c.; and especially in Venetia; which is kept in subjection solely by means of an enormous army of occupation. ‘Bohemia is disaffected, Croatia sulky, Hungary embittered, and Venice an open foe. Money is scarce in the Imperial exchequer: the Kaiser’s nearest allies, who might safely have been counted on a few years ago, and could be so even now, had they not been discarded at the beginning of the Schleswig-Holstein campaign—Bavaria, Lübeck, Württemberg, and Saxony—are in anything but a hurry to offer their services in case of war.’—*T. N.*

Convention, or Treaty, of Gastein, called the Austro-Prusso-Danish Treaty, between Austria and Prussia, with regard to

* There are two very interesting and pretty articles, on the manner in which the House of Austria gradually united to itself the provinces of Hungary, Bohemia, Slavonia, Croatia, &c., &c., and on the long struggle of Hungary to maintain its constitutional rights, in the *Times* for Oct. 2, and Oct. 7, 1865. The articles are entitled *Austria and Hungary*.

Schleswig-Holstein; 1865. The terms may be thus explained :—There is no “definite solution” of the question, but Austria and Prussia have agreed to keep the question where it is on the conditions following :—Schleswig and Holstein are to be separated; Schleswig is to be given up to the “provisional” rule of Prussia; Holstein to the “provisional” rule of Austria, thus to be occupied and governed until the occupying powers shall otherwise determine. In the meantime, Austria allows Prussia to take and keep Lauenburg absolutely, in return for which cession of somebody else’s property, Prussia pays Austria a handsome sum of money.*—*T. N.*

Sketch of the present Germanic Confederation (der Deutsche Bund); as established in 1865, and as it can be, at present, said to exist.

The German Confederation, as constituted by the Congress of Vienna, is an *International Union* (*Böfßerrechtlicher Verein*) of *Sovereign Princes* and the *free cities of Germany*, mutually independent of one another, with equal reciprocal rights and obligations, but in its external relations a collective power combined in political unity; comprising—especially as regards the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia—all and each of their possessions which anciently appertained to the Germanic Empire, their non-German provinces excepted.† (Art. I. of the Federal Act of 8th June, 1815, and Arts. I. and II. of the Final Act of 15th May, 1820.) ‡

* Originally the League was composed of *one Emperor* (Austria); *five Kings* (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and the King of England for Hanover); *one Elector* (Hesse-Cassel); *seven Grand-dukes* (Baden, Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, Saxe-Weimar, Oldenburg, and the King of the Netherlands for the Grand-duchy of Luxembourg); *nine Dukes* (three of Saxony: Meiningen, Coburg-Gotha, and Altenburg; three of Anhalt: Dessau, Köthen, and Bernburg; Nassau, Brunswick, and the King of Denmark for the Duchy of Holstein); *ten Sovereign Princes* (Schwarzburg-Sondershausen and Rudolstadt; Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Sigmaringen; Reuss the elder and the younger branch; Lippe-Detmold and Schaumburg;

* See more in the Leading Article of *The Times* Newspaper for Aug. 22, 1865.

† On the 13th May, 1851, Austria demanded of the Federal Diet to be admitted a member of the Confederation with all her *non-German provinces*; Prussia, in order to counteract this design, withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Diet her non-German provinces, which had been added to the Confederation in 1848.

‡ For the original of the *Federal Act*, and the *Final Act*, see Marten’s *Nouveau Recueil*, tome ii. p. 353, and tome v. p. 467, respectively.

Waldeck; Lichtenstein), to whom, in 1817, was added the *Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg*; and the four free cities (Frankfort, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck).—Extr. from Dr. Weber's *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, ii. p. 426.

The fundamental Act annexed to the Treaty of Vienna, to which England was a leading party, sets forth:—1st. That the German Confederation is formed for the exterior and interior security of Germany, and for the independence and inviolability of the Federal States.

2nd. That they mutually guarantee to each other those possessions comprised in the Federal Union.

3rd. That, when war is declared by the Confederation, none of the members can negotiate separately with the enemy, or conclude any peace or truce.

4th. That the Confederate States shall never, upon any pretext whatever, declare war on each other, but all shall submit their differences to the Federal Diet; and in cases in which the latter is not sufficiently competent, an '*Austrägalgericht*,' that is, a court of arbitration, is to be appointed to decide doubtful matters between the members of the Confederation.*

5th. That the Confederation is indissoluble, and none of its members is at liberty to secede from it.

6th. That the States are obliged to defend, in case of attack, not only Germany in its entirety, but also each individual State of the Union.

7th. That a Federal army (*Bundesheer*), composed of contingents of the various States, is to protect the security and independence of the common Fatherland, the commander-in-chief of which, in time of war, is to be appointed by the Diet.

* 'The term "*Austrägalinstanz*" (a tribunal of arbitration) is borrowed from the ancient system of arbitration between the members of the Empire, instituted by the Emperor Maximilian I. at the Diet of Worms, in 1495, and subsequently organised more completely by the Emperor Charles V. in 1540. The word *Austregal*, or, in German, *Austrägal*, is derived from "*Austrag*," a decision. The *Austrägal-Tribunal* of the Germanic Confederation was regulated by a resolution of the Diet, 3rd August, 1820.—See Marten's *Nouveau Recueil*, tome v. p. 518.

8th. That all German States shall have representative constitutions, and the Christian sects shall enjoy equal rights; that all State-citizens (*Staatsbürger*) shall be equal before law, and that only the mediatised (so-called) immediate Barons of the Empire (*reichsunmittelbare Standesherrn*) shall enjoy certain privileges.

These are the most important dispositions of the *Federal Act* (*deutsche Bundesacte*).

* From the above statements it will be seen that the Germanic Confederation is established upon the basis of a defensive alliance between its members for their joint and separate security and protection, differing in this respect from an ordinary alliance, inasmuch as the determination of every *casus fœderis* rests with a common Assembly or Diet, and not with the individual members; the functions of this Diet being limited by the dispositions of the Federal Act.—*Dr. Travers Twiss, On the Relations of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to Denmark and the Germanic Confederation*, p. 111.

The various German States, and the free cities comprised in the Union, are represented by special ambassadors, who collectively constitute the German '*Bund*,' or '*Bundesversammlung*' (Federal Assembly), at Frankfort on the Main, to which again ambassadors of the foreign great powers are accredited.

The general affairs of Germany, and the business of the Confederation, are conducted, under the presidentship of Austria and Prussia, by a permanent executive Committee of seventeen *curiæ*, called the '*Federal Diet*,' or '*Bundestag*.' In important matters the representatives of all the States assemble in a full meeting (*Plenarſitzung*), numbering altogether seventy votes, even the smallest States having one vote, and the two greatest four votes each.

By Art. XIII. of the Federal Act it is stipulated that all German States shall receive representative constitutions. King Frederic William III. of Prussia was the first who, by a proclamation dated 22nd May, 1815, promised the establishment of Provincial Diets, and a Constitution for the whole Monarchy. His promise, however, was not carried out until 1823, and the provincial assemblies then instituted by him, being only invested with a *consulting* voice, did not satisfy his people. Discontent, which had long been brewing all over Germany, followed; inasmuch as the results of the Vienna Congress had disappointed the just expectations of the people, who, by their devotion and support in 1813-1815, had saved the thrones.

The occasion of a festival instituted on the Wartburg, near Eisenach, on the

18th October, 1817, by a number of students, for the purpose of celebrating the tercentenary of the Reformation and the anniversary of the battle of Laispale, at which fiery speeches were held, and books of absolutistic tendencies by Kotzebue, Kamptz, Haller, and others burnt; the assassination of the Russian State-Counsellor *Kotzebue* by Sand, a student (23rd March, 1819); the so-called 'demagogical conspiracies,' and the dissatisfaction prevailing in all classes of society, gave the Austrian Chancellor, Prince Metternich, an opportunity for putting down all liberal aspirations. In the Ministerial Conferences at Karlsbad (1819), and Vienna (1820), it was resolved that neither Austria nor any other of the Confederate States should take part in any liberal religious or political development; that, wherever a participation of the people in the government was already established, it should be restricted, or altogether abolished; that the censorship of the press (*Censur*) should be rigidly carried out; that the Federal Diet should be regarded the highest power in Germany, and the absolutism of the Sovereign Princes recognised as an established right. All these reactionary regulations were embodied in the FINAL ACT OF VIENNA, WHICH SUPERSEDED THE FEDERAL ACT of 1815. A Central Enquiry Commission (*Central-Untersuchungs-Commission*) was instituted at Mayence; which prosecuted and imprisoned all who dared to express dissatisfaction with these measures. Fear and indignation prevailed everywhere. Prince Metternich's spirit ruled supreme in the Diet, and laid all political development in chains. No measure was considered too severe to suppress all freedom of thought; the public press was gagged; the right of meeting prohibited, and the whole country placed under the surveillance of the police. It was, and is still, the pride of the Diet to style itself the representative of the 'College of Princes,' the people of Germany being entitled to no other consideration than passive obedience.

The revolutionary movements of 1848 swept away the Federal Diet, which for thirty years had been the scourge of the country. On the 12th July it resigned its powers into the hands of Archduke John of Austria, who had been elected Regent of the Empire (*Reichsverweser*) by the National Parliament sitting at Frankfort, and the Diet decreed its own dissolution.

The various attempts made during that period to bring about the unity of Germany having all failed, and the hostile rivalry of the Courts of Austria and Prussia having at length arrived at such a pitch as to make a conflict almost inevitable, both Powers agreed, by a Convention concluded at Olmütz (30th November, 1850), to settle their differences, and regulate the affairs of Germany at a Conference to be held for that purpose at Dresden.

TO AUSTRIA IS DUE THE DOUBTFUL MERIT OF HAVING RESUSCITATED THE DEFUNCT

FEDERAL DIET (1st September, 1850), which Prussia, after at first refusing to recognise it, joined, by virtue of the arrangements concluded at the Dresden Conferences; and **THE CONFEDERATION IS NOW ONCE MORE ESTABLISHED ON THE SAME PRINCIPLES AS BEFORE**, viz., by an illiberal compact between the Sovereign rulers, to the exclusion of the people of Germany.

'The Federal Diet, though nominally "a collective power combined in political unity," is, by its very constitution, a political body powerless and without authority. On the most important affairs of the interior policy of the different States, on all matters concerning commerce and constitutional government, it exercises no influence, and it is only remarkable by its inherent weakness, and entire want of beneficial political action. All its decisions are dependent on the instructions given to the ambassadors by the ministers of the different courts represented in it, and it is a mere instrument in the hands of the two great rival German powers, each of which, by striving to gain supremacy in Germany, keep in check the healthy development of the wealth and resources not only of their own countries but also of the Empire in general.

'Thus, the bold experiment attempted by the collective wisdom of the diplomatists assembled at the Congress of Vienna has, after an experience of half a century, proved only a melancholy failure; the Confederation being founded and maintained only for military, diplomatic, and dynastic purposes, without having any real basis in either the internal organisation of the States that compose it or in their external relations.'—*F. L. W.*

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APPENDIX.

I.

THE MODERN NAME OF GERMANY.

With regard to the derivation of the word *Deutsch* (German), *Deutscher*, and *Deutschland*, Prof. Max. Müller writes me word, in answer to an enquiry I put to him as to its etymology, that it is rightly traced back to the Gothic *thiodisk*, the adjective of *thiuda*, 'people'; in Old High German *diutisc*, in Middle High German *diutisch*; and that it is an error to suppose it connected with *Tuisco*, the ancient name of the Deity (see Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. ii.); which latter word is most likely derived from the Sankrit *Dyu*, the Norse *Tyr*, whose name we still see in our English word 'Tuesday,' and which is rightly connected by Grimm and Zeuss with the Anglo-Saxon *Tiw*, which in Gothic would have sounded *Tiu*. (See also Professor Max. Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd series, lect. x. pp. 425 and 456 *segg.*)

As to the etymology of the word *German*, Professor Müller adds in the same letter, 'there are many conjectures from Tacitus down to Grimm; but all I can say, is, that I do not know of any defensible etymology.' The etymologies of *Deutsch* and *Germanus* are fully discussed in Grimm's *German Grammar*, vol. i. 3rd edit. p. 10 *segg.*

II.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE INVASION OF THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES.

In the year 113 B.C. the Cimbri and Teutones (*Kimbern und Teutonen* [the former supposed to be Celts, the latter Gallic and Germanic tribes]), accompanied by their wives, children, and carrying with them their cattle, goods, and chattels, made their appearance at the frontiers of Italy in Noricum, under their Chiefs Bojorix and Teutoboch. They first defeated a Roman army under Carbo, and then going westward into Helvetia were joined by the Tigurini and the Amburones, and passed with them into Gaul, which they ravaged. The Romans in vain endeavoured to protect that portion of the country which belonged to them, and lost several armies in the attempt.* B.C. 109, 106, and 105. There is some uncertainty about their movements for the next two or three years, but the Cimbri appear to have separated from the Teutones, and to have invaded and ravaged Spain. Meanwhile

* See, for the names of the Roman Generals, Turner's *Analysis of Roman History*, p. 64.

Marius employed the interval in drilling and disciplining his forces, which he led into Gaul, and took up a position in a fortified camp near Arles. After in vain attempting to storm his camp, the Teutones and Amburones, who had again separated themselves from the Cimbri, were overtaken by Marius, and almost totally destroyed by him near Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix, in Provence), at the village of Pourrières, a name corrupted from *Campi patrii*, in B.C. 103; and their Teutoboch, their chief, was taken prisoner. Two years after, B.C. 101, the Cimbri, who had forced their way into the north of Italy, were defeated and annihilated by Marius and Catulus at the battle of Vercellæ. This was the first attack of the German tribes on the Roman Empire, and the commencement of the long struggle that lasted nearly 600 years.*

III.

THE DEFEAT OF VARUS.

"'Twice, and twice only," exclaims Suetonius, "did Augustus suffer grievous and disgraceful defeat, and both times in Germany." The historian Florus admits with candour that the Germans might rather be described as conquered in action than subdued in war. "Upon the Roman Empire," he says, "unbounded even by the ocean, the defeat of Varus imposed the limit of the Rhine." And in the same spirit Tacitus speaks of the Roman emperors as celebrating triumphs over the Germans rather than conquering them, a conquest, he adds, truly long in the achieving. More passages might easily be adduced, but these are sufficient to show that the force of the German genius and the German sword was not altogether unknown at Rome; and Rome in two ways indicated her appreciation of both. She availed herself of the turbulent character of the first to apply the Machiavellian maxim, "divide and rule." "Oh, that our foes would ever thus be ready to cut each other's throats; since in the declining destiny of an empire fortune can grant no greater boon than the discord of its enemies." And the same philosophical observer acknowledges that to the prosecution of a policy like this Rome owed more than to the force of arms. The second, the German sword, she bought off with gold, and employed in her own service. Even the great Dictator had done this. His Germanic legionaries won the battle of Pharsalia. For a long series of years the throne of those who succeeded him was girt by the Goth and Frank, and guarded by their sturdy swords. The Prætorian lifeguards of the emperor, in the time of Tiberius, according to the narrative of Tacitus, were Germans. Many writers have condemned this practice of barbarian enlistment, and seen in it one of the causes of the fall of the empire. They do not see that it was a simple necessity. It may have taught the discipline of Rome to the enemies of Rome; but, without it, Rome could not have held Italy for a month. The degenerate rabble of foreigners and freedmen who filled her streets would not have stood a single shock of northern war; it would be as reasonable to array the Lazzaroni of Naples against the German or British bayonet.

"Such, then,—and so widely different from those which she bore to Gaul,—were the relations of Rome to Germany during the four centuries and a half that preceded the great crisis which historians have generally agreed to call the "irruption of the barbarians." In the one race we may detect the elements of a vigorous natural life—development, progress, and dominion; in the other, the seeds of a national death—corruption, feebleness, decay. Gibbon has endeavoured to sneer away the virtues of our Teutonic ances-

* See more in Smith's *Dict. of Biog. and Myth.*, Art. 'Marius,' to which I have been indebted for a great part of the above.

tors; Adelnung has visited them with a still more ungenerous and systematic depreciation; but there is no reason to dispute the general conclusions of a late writer:—that the Germans possessed a pre-eminent capacity for development, progress, and dominion, might be gathered from other works of Tacitus, even though the *Germania* had not been written. The attitude which the Germans assumed towards the Romans on their first meeting in Gaul, and in their subsequent intercourse, was never that of mere savages. They did not, indeed, undervalue the Roman power; they knew it was terrible, that it had hitherto been irresistible. They neither recklessly sought a collision with Cæsar nor did they timidly shrink from it when they thought their rights invaded; for they had a proud consciousness of what was in themselves. They were not overawed by the superiority which long ages of wealth and civilisation had conferred upon their opponents. They did not, as is the custom with mere savages, slink away before the face of those who came armed with the power of knowledge, and adorned by the arts of life; nor did they seek to denationalise themselves by slavishly aping what they could not readily acquire. They looked their superiors boldly and calmly in the face; they kept up their pride in their own race and name, and considered the Ubii degraded by the adoption of the Roman dress and manners. They quickly learned from their enemies what it suited their purpose to know. In the service of the empire, they became the most skilful soldiers; they formed the bravest legions; they decided the fate of the most important battles; they furnished the ablest generals and statesmen,—men who, single-handed, sustained the imperial throne, yet, in the very heart of the emperor's palace, never ceased to be Germans. And when at last they threw themselves upon the Roman Empire, with the determination to take possession of its fairest provinces, no difficulties and no disasters could deter them. Though often defeated, they were never conquered; a wave might roll back, but the tide advanced; they held firmly to their purpose till it was obtained; they wrested the ball and sceptre from Roman hands, and have kept them until now.'—*Sheppard, Lect. on the Fall of Rome.*

IV.

THE FALL OF ROME.

* On the 9th of August, A.D. 378, the fatal day, the second Cannæ, from which Rome never recovered as from that first, the young world and the old world met, and fought it out; and the young world won. The light Roman cavalry fled before the long lances and heavy swords of the German knights. The knights turned on the infantry, broke them, hunted them down by charge after charge, and left the footmen to finish the work.

* At least this was the second Cannæ, the death-warrant of Rome. From that day the end was certain, however slow. The Teuton had at last tried his strength against the Roman. The wild forest-child had found himself suddenly at death-grips with the enchanter whom he had feared, and almost worshipped, for so long; and behold, to his own wonder, he was no more a child, but grown into a man, and the stronger, if not the cunninger, of the two. There had been a spell upon him; the "*Romani nominis umbra.*" But from that day the spell was broken. He had faced a Roman emperor, a Divus Cæsar, the man-god by whose head all nations swore, rich with the magic wealth, wise with the magic cunning, of centuries of superhuman glory; and he had killed him, and, behold, he died, like other men. That he had done. What was there left for him now that he could not do?—*K. R. and T.*

V.

THE ROMAN AND THE TEUTON.

'The fall of the Teuton from the noble simplicity in which Tacitus beheld and honoured him was a work of four centuries, perhaps it was going on in Tacitus' own line. But the culminating point was the century which saw Italy conquered, and Rome sacked, by Visigoth, by Ostrogoth, by Vandal, till nothing was left, save fever-haunted ruins. Then the ignorant and greedy child, who had been grasping so long after the fair apples of Sodom, clutched them once and for all, and found them turn to ashes in his hands.

'They had done a great work. They had destroyed a mighty tyranny; they had parted between them the spoils wrung from all the nations; they had rid the earth of a mighty man-devouring ogre, whose hands had been stretched out for centuries over all the earth, dragging all virgins to his den, butchering and torturing thousands for his sport; foul, too, with crimes for which their language, like our own (thank God), has scarcely found a name. Babylon the Great, drunken with the blood of the saints, had fallen at last before the simple foresters of the North; but if it looks a triumph to us, it looked not such to them. They could only think how they had stained their hands in their brothers' blood. They had got the fatal Nibelungen hoard; but it had vanished between their hands, and left them to kill each other, till none was left.'—*K. E. and T.*

VI.

THE PARTITION OF VERDUN.

'In the partition treaty of Verdun, the Teutonic principle of equal division among heirs triumphed over the Roman one of the transmission of an indivisible empire: the practical sovereignty of all three brothers was admitted in their respective territories, a barren precedence only reserved to Lothar, with the imperial title which he already enjoyed. A more important result was the separation of the Gaulish and German nationalities. Their difference of feeling, shown already in the support of Lewis by the Germans against the Gallo-Franks and the Church, took now a permanent shape: modern Germany proclaims the era of 843 the beginning of her national existence, and celebrated its thousandth anniversary twenty years ago. To Charles the Bald was given *Francia Occidentalis*, that is to say, Neustria and Aquitaine; to Lothar, who as emperor must possess the two capitals, Rome and Aachen, a long and narrow kingdom stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean; Lewis received all East of the Rhine, Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, Austria, Carinthia, with possible supremacies over Czechs and Moravians beyond. Throughout these regions German was spoken; through Charles's kingdom a corrupt tongue equally removed from Latin and from modern French. Lothar's, being mixed, and having no national basis, was the weakest of the three, and soon dissolved into the separate sovereignties of Italy, Burgundy, and Lotharingia, or, as we call it, Lorraine.'—*Bryce, H. R. E.*

VII.

CONRAD I.

'The influence of Hatto and the consent of Otto placed Conrad, Duke of Franconia, on the imperial throne. Sprung from a newly-risen family, a mere creature of the bishop, his nobility as a feudal lord only dating from

the period of the Babenberg feud, he was regarded by the church as a pliable tool, and by the dukes as little to be feared. His weakness was quickly demonstrated by his inability to retain the rich allods of the Carolingian dynasty as heir to the imperial crown, and his being constrained to share them with the rest of the dukes; he was, nevertheless, more fully sensible of the dignity and of the duties of his station, than those to whom he owed his election, probably expected.'—*M.*

VIII.

HENRY THE FOWLER.

'The youthful Henry, the first of the Saxon line, was proclaimed King of Germany at Fritzlar, A.D. 919, by the majority of votes, and, according to ancient custom, raised upon the shield. The Archbishop of Mayence offered to anoint him according to the usual ceremony, but Henry refused, alleging that he was content to owe his election to the grace of God and to the piety of the German princes, and that he left the ceremony of anointment to those who wished to be still more pious.'—*M.*

IX.

OTTO THE GREAT.

'Otto, the son of Henry, was unanimously elected as successor to the throne. The feeling of respect which the newly-acquired greatness of the state installed into the minds of his subjects conspired with his own love of magnificence and display to render the coronation of this youthful prince a scene of more than ordinary solemnity. The choice of Aix-la-Chapelle as the theatre on this grand occasion demonstrated the high expectations universally inspired by this new sovereign, on whom the spirit of Charlemagne seemed to rest. The entire nation, the clergy, and the nobility, vied with each other in surrounding their monarch with a splendour equalling that with which the first emperor had been environed. The gigantic crown of Charlemagne, the sceptre, the sword, the cross, the sacred lance, and the golden mantle, now became objects of still deeper devotion.

'Although Otto worthily maintained the dignity he inherited from his father, he scarcely merited the title of Great. He was not endowed with the winning frankness with which his more simple-minded father had gained every heart. His manner was cold and haughty; he surrounded himself with etiquette, and, although by no means wanting in personal bravery, owed his success more to his craftiness and good fortune than to his generosity and magnanimity.'—*M.*

X.

HENRY IV.

'Henry wore away two months at Spire in a fruitless solicitation to the pope to receive him in Italy as a penitent suitor for reconciliation with the church. December had now arrived; and in less than ten weeks would be fulfilled the term when, if still excommunicate, he must, according to the sentence of Tribur,* finally resign, not the prerogatives alone, but with them

* The Diet summoned by Hildebrand to elect a new Emperor, in case Henry IV. continued his resistance, was appointed to be held at Tribur. See p. 54 of the essay, *Hildebrand*. Tribur, or Thiribur, the position of which place is not mentioned in the Essay, was, my friend Dr. Sheppard

the title and rank of head of the empire. No sacrifices seemed too great to avert this danger; and history tells of none more singular than those to which the heir of the Franconian dynasty was constrained to submit. In the garb of a pilgrim, and in a season so severe as, during more than four months, to have converted the Rhine into a solid mass of ice, Henry and his faithful Bertha, carrying in her arms their infant child, undertook to cross the Alps, with no escort but such menial servants as it was yet in his power to hire for that desperate enterprise. Among the courtiers who had so lately thronged his palace, not one would become the companion of his toil and dangers. Among the neighbouring princes who had so lately solicited his alliance, not one would grant him the poor boon of a safe conduct and a free passage through their states. Even his wife's mother exacted from him large territorial cessions as the price of allowing him, and her own daughter, to scale one of the Alpine passes; apparently that of the Great St. Bernard. Day by day, peasants cut out an upward path through the long windings of the mountain. In the descent from the highest summit, when thus at length gained, Henry had to encounter fatigues and dangers from which the chamois-hunter would have turned aside. Vast trackless wastes of snow were traversed, sometimes by mere crawling, at other times by the aid of rope-ladders, or still ruder contrivances, and not seldom by a sheer plunge along the inclined steep; the empress and her child being enveloped, on those occasions, in the raw skins of beasts slaughtered on the march.

It was towards the end of January. The earth was covered with snow, and the mountain streams were arrested by the keen frost of the Apennines, when, clad in a thin penitential garment of white linen, and bare of foot, Henry, the descendant of so many kings, and the ruler of so many nations, ascended slowly and alone the rocky path which led to the outer gate of the fortress of Canossa. With strange emotions of pity, of wonder, and of scorn, the assembled crowd gazed on his majestic form and noble features, as, passing through the first and the second gateway, he stood in the posture of humiliation before the third, which remained inexorably closed against his further progress. The rising sun found him there fasting; and there the setting sun left him stiff with cold, faint with hunger, and devoured by shame and ill-suppressed resentment. A second day dawned, and wore tardily away, and closed, in a continuance of the same indignities, poured out on Europe at large in the person of her chief, by the vicar of the meek, the lowly, and the compassionate Redeemer. A third day came, and still irreverently trampling on the hereditary lord of the fairer half of the civilised world, Hildebrand once more compelled him to prolong till nightfall this profane and hollow parody on the real workings of the broken and contrite heart.

'The endurance of the sufferer was the only measure of the inflexibility of the tormentor; nor was it till the unhappy monarch had burst away from the scene of his mental and bodily anguish, and sought shelter in a neighbouring convent, that the pope, yielding at length to the instances of Matilda, would admit the degraded suppliant into his presence. It was the fourth day on which he had borne the humiliating garb of an affected penitence, and, in that sordid raiment, he drew near on his bare feet to the more than imperial majesty of the church, and prostrated himself, in more than servile deference, before the diminutive and emaciated old man, "from the

writes me word, on the borders of the Black Forest, not far from the modern Freiburg, where the little town or village of Triberg now stands. It was the second place of meeting of the Papal legates and the German princes, in the month of October; the previous one having taken place in September at Oppenheim.

terrible glance of whose countenance," we are told, "the eye of every beholder recoiled as from the lightning." Hunger, cold, nakedness, and shame had, for the moment, crushed the gallant spirit of the sufferer. He wept and cried for mercy, again and again renewing his entreaties, until he had reached the lowest level of abasement to which his own enfeebled heart, or the haughtiness of his great antagonist, could depress him. Then, and not till then, did the pope condescend to revoke the anathema of the Vatican." —*Sir Jas. Stephen's Essay 'Hildebrand,' E. R.*

XI.

**THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT (circa 1180) UNDER
FREDERIC I. (BARBAROSSA).**

'Within the actual boundaries of the Holy Empire were included only Germany, the northern half of Italy, and the Kingdom of Arles; that is, Provence, Dauphiné, the Free County of Burgundy (Franche-Comté), and Western Switzerland (Lorraine, Alsace, and Flanders were, of course, parts of Germany). To the north-east, Bohemia and the Slavie principalities in Mecklenburg and Pomerania were as yet not integral parts of its body, but rather dependent outliers. Beyond the March of Brandenburg dwelt Pagan Lithuanians, and Prussians, free till the establishment among them of the Teutonic knights.

'Hungary had owed a doubtful allegiance since the days of Otto I. Gregory VII. had claimed it, as a fief of the Holy See; Frederic wished to reduce it completely, but could not overcome the reluctance of his nobles. After Frederic II., by whom it was recovered from the Mongol hordes, no imperial claims were made for so many years that at last they became obsolete, and were confessed to be so by the Constitution of Augsburg, A.D. 1566.

'Under Duke Misico, Poland had submitted to Otto the Great, and continued, with occasional revolts, to obey the empire till the great Interregnum. Its duke was present at the election of Richard, A.D. 1258. Thereafter Premislas called himself king in token of emancipation, and the country became independent, though some of its provinces were long after reunited to the German State. Silesia, originally Polish, was, by Charles IV., attached to Bohemia; Posen and Galicia seized by Prussia and Austria, A.D. 1772. Down to her partition in that year, the constitution of Poland remained a copy of that which had existed in the German kingdom in the twelfth century.

'Lewis the Pious had received the homage of the Danish king Harold, on his baptism at Mentz, A.D. 826; Otto's victories over Harold Blue Tooth made the country regularly subject, and added the March of Schleswig to the immediate territory of the empire; but the boundary soon receded to the Eyder, on whose banks might be seen the inscription:—

"Eidora Romani terminus imperii."

'King Peter attended at Frederic I.'s coronation, to do homage, and received from the emperor, as suzerain, his own crown. Since the Interregnum, Denmark has been always free.

'Otto the Great was the last emperor whose suzerainty the French kings had admitted; nor were Henry VI. and Otto IV. successful in their attempts to revive it. . . .

'Reliance cannot be placed on the author who tells us that Sweden was granted by Frederic I. to Waldemar the Dane; the fact is improbable, and we do not hear that such pretensions were ever put forth before or after. Nor does it appear that authority was ever exercised by any emperor in

Spain. Nevertheless, the choice of Alfonso X. by the German electors, A.D. 1258, may be construed to imply that the Spanish kings were members of the empire. And when, A.D. 1058, Ferdinand the Great of Castile had in the pride of his victories over the Moors assumed the title of "Hispanie Imperator," the remonstrance of Henry III. declared the rights of Rome over her western provinces indelible, and the Spaniard, though protesting his independence, was forced to resign the usurped dignity.

No act of sovereignty is recorded to have been done by any of the emperors in England, though, as heirs of Rome, they might be thought to have better rights over it than over Poland or Denmark. There was, however, a vague notion that the English, like other kingdoms, must depend on the empire: a notion which appears in Conrad III.'s letter to John of Constantinople; and was countenanced by the submissive tone in which Frederic I. was addressed by the Plantagenet Henry II. English independence was still more compromised in the next reign, when Richard I., according to Hoveden, "*Consilio matris suae deposuit se de regno Angliæ at tradidit illud imperatori (Henrico VI.) sicut universorum domino.*" But as Richard was at the same time invested with the kingdom of Arles by Henry VI., his homage may have been for that fief only, and it was probable in that capacity that he voted, as a prince of the empire, at the election of Frederic II. The case finds a parallel in the claims of England over the Scottish king, doubtful, to say the least, as regards the domestic realm of the latter, certain as regards Cumbria, which he had long held from the southern crown. But Germany had no Edward I. Henry VI. is said to have at his death released Richard from this submission (this, too, may be compared with Richard's release to the Scottish William the Lion), and Edward II. declared, "*regnum Angliæ ab omni subjectione imperiali esse liberrimum.*" Yet the idea survived: the Emperor Lewis the Bavarian, when he named Edward III. his vicar in the great French war, demanded, though in vain, that the English monarch should kiss his feet. Sigismund, visiting Henry V. at London, before the meeting of the Council of Constance, was met by the Duke of Gloucester, who, riding into the water to the ship where the emperor sat, required him, at the sword's point, to declare that he did not come purposing to infringe on the king's authority in the realm of England. One curious pretension called forth many protests. It was declared by civilians and canonists that no public notary could have any standing, or attack any legality to the documents he drew, unless he had received his diploma from the emperor or the pope. A strenuous denial of a doctrine so injurious was issued by the Parliament of Scotland under James III.—*Bryce, H. R. E.*

XII.

BARBAROSSA'S CRUSADE AND DEATH.

'The situation of the Christians in the East became gradually more perplexing. The treachery practised by the Greeks and the Pullanes during the last Crusade towards the Emperor Conrad III., and Louis VII., gradually met with its fitting reward, although the disputes that arose among the Mahomedans were at first in their favour. Zengis the Great had been succeeded by his son Nurreddin, who was opposed by the Egyptian caliphs, and whose son was deprived of his throne by a new aspirant, named Salaheddin, who, uniting Syria and Egypt beneath his rule, subdued the Assassins, the most dangerous enemies of the Sultans, and attacked the weak and demoralised Christians, whose strength had been spent in intestine feuds.

'After the departure of Conrad III. and Louis VII., whose fruitless expeditions had ended in anger and disappointment, Baldwin III., the youthful

King of Jerusalem, besieged his own mother, Melisenda, Fulke's widow, who refused to abdicate the sovereignty, in the city of David. The knights, however, still possessed sufficient zeal and courage to repel an attack made by the Turks on the holy city, and even to gain possession of Ascalon (A.D. 1153). Raymund of Tripolis, the son of Pontius, fell, meanwhile, by the hand of an assassin, but was well replaced by his gallant son Raymund. Raymund of Antioch had also fallen, and his widow, Constantia, had espoused the savage knight, Reynald de Chatillon, who shamefully ill-treated the patriarch of Antioch. The patriarch of Jerusalem, with whom the different orders of knighthood were at variance, found it impossible to maintain his authority; the knights of St. John sent a flight of arrows among the people in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Baldwin, breaking his plighted word with a peaceable Arabian tribe, was severely chastised for his insincerity by Nurreddin, by whom he was so closely pursued, after losing a battle, as barely to escape with his life. At this conjuncture, Dietrich of Flanders fortunately revisited the East, and Nurreddin was defeated. Baldwin was poisoned, A.D. 1159. He was succeeded by his brother, Amalrich, who undertook a predatory excursion, in which he was successful, into Egypt, and, aided by Dietrich, was victorious over Nurreddin, by whom he was, however, defeated in a second engagement. Reynald had, some time before this, been taken prisoner, and his stepson, the son of Raymund and Constantia, Bohemund III. of Antioch, shared a similar fate, A.D. 1163. Amalrich now leagued with the Fatimite caliphs in Egypt against Nurreddin, and was at first successful, but turning against his allies and attempting to seize Egypt, Adad, caliph of Cairo, a youth of nineteen years of age, entreated the Sultan Nurreddin for aid, sending to him, in token of extreme necessity, the hair of all the women in his harem. Amalrich was again attacked by the united Mahomedan forces, and disgracefully put to flight. His subsequent attempt against Damietta, although seconded by a Grecian fleet, failed; Nurreddin, meanwhile, fixed himself in Egypt, and reduced the Fatimites, like the Abbasides in Bagdad, beneath the Turkish yoke. His vice-regent, Salaheddin, afterwards seized the sovereignty in Egypt, and put the unfortunate Adad, the last of the Fatimites, to death.

* Henry the Lion, who visited Jerusalem in 1171, might have saved Egypt, but merely contented himself with paying his devotions at the sepulchre, and returned home without drawing his sword against the infidels. The other troops of pilgrims that arrived singly and few in number were utterly powerless. In 1174, Henry, bishop of Hildesheim, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but all his followers were lost at sea, and he alone escaped on a plank. Amalrich died in 1175. His youthful son and successor, Baldwin IV., defeated Salaheddin (who, on the death of Nurreddin, had usurped the sovereignty), although abandoned by Philip of Flanders, who, disappointed in his project of placing the crown of Jerusalem on his own head, had returned home with his forces, A.D. 1177. Reynald, who had been restored to liberty, now regained courage, and boldly marched against Mecca, with the intention of destroying the Caaba, the object of Mahomedan adoration, but was repulsed with great loss, A.D. 1182. Salaheddin swore to punish his insolence, sacrificed all the Christians belonging to Reynald's army, who had fallen into his hands, on the Caaba, and strengthened his authority in Syria, in order to surround the Christians on every side. At that time the patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius, was to be seen surrounded by courtesans, on whom he lavished the gifts offered by the pious pilgrims at the shrine. Vice and folly paved the way to ruin. Baldwin IV. became blind and died; his son, Baldwin V., a child of five years old, was probably murdered, and Guido de Lusignan, a man of weak intellect, who had wedded Sibylla, the sister of Baldwin IV., was placed on the throne, whose possession was disputed by Raymund of Tripolis, the bravest of the Christian knights in the East. This

dispute was turned to advantage by Salaheddin, who defeated and almost annihilated the Templars and Hospitalers. A pitched battle took place, A.D. 1187, between him and the Christian princes, near the Lake of Tiberias, in which he was again successful. In this battle the holy cross was irretrievably lost. King Guido, Reinald the Wild, the aged Margrave William of Montserrat (by origin a German, and vassal to the German emperor), the grand-master of the Templars, several bishops and knights, fell into the hands of the enemy. Reinald was put to death. Salaheddin, quickly following up this advantage, seized all the cities of Palestine, except Antioch, Tripolis, and Tyre. Jerusalem was for some time valiantly defended by the Queen Sibylla, but finally surrendered. A German knight greatly distinguished himself during this siege, by the valour with which he resisted the Turks when storming the city. The Christians were granted a free exit; Salaheddin beholding them, as they quitted the city in mournful procession, from a lofty throne, October 30th, 1187. All the churches, that of the Holy Sepulchre alone excepted, were reconverted into mosques. And thus was Jerusalem lost by the incapacity of her French rulers, and the whole of Palestine would inevitably have again fallen a prey to the Turks, had not Conrad of Montserrat, the son of the captive margrave, encouraged the trembling citizens of Tyre to make head against Salaheddin.

William, bishop of Tyre, the most noted of the historians of his times, instantly hastened into the West, for the purpose of demanding assistance. The pious emperor, then in his seventieth year, joyfully took up the cross for the second time, and with him his son, Frederic of Swabia, Philip of Flanders, Hermann of Baden, Berthold von Meran (a renowned crusader, the father of St. Louis, and grandfather of St. Elizabeth), Florens of Holland, Engelbert von Berg, Ruprecht of Nassau, the Counts von Henneberg, Dies, Saarbrück, Salm, Wied, Bentheim, Hohenlohe, Kilburg, Oettingen, all men of note, Leopold of Austria, and the flower of German chivalry, in all, one hundred thousand men. Barbarossa, after sending a solemn declaration of war to Salaheddin, broke up his camp A.D. 1188; met with a friendly reception from Bela, King of Hungary, held a magnificent tournament at Belgrade, hanged all the Servians, whose robber bands harassed him on his march, that fell into his hands, as common thieves, and advanced into the plains of Roumelia. The Greek emperor, Isaac, who was on friendly terms with him, and had promised to furnish his army with provisions, broke his word, and, besides countenancing the hostility with which the crusaders were treated by his subjects, threw the Count von Dies, whom Frederic sent to him, into prison. Barbarossa, upon this, gave his soldiery licence to plunder, and the beautiful country was speedily laid waste. The Cumans, Isaac's mercenaries, fled before the Germans, who revenged the assassination of some pilgrims by destroying the city of Manicava, and by putting 4,000 of the inhabitants to the sword. The large city of Philippopolis, where the sick and wounded Germans who had been left there had been mercilessly slaughtered by the inhabitants, shared the same fate. These acts of retributive justice performed, Barbarossa advanced against Constantinople, where Isaac, in order to secure his capital from destruction, placed his whole fleet at his disposal. The crusaders no sooner reached Asia Minor, than the Greeks recommenced their former treacherous practices, and the Sultan of Iconium, who, through jealousy of Salaheddin's power, had entered into a friendly alliance with the emperor, also attacked him. Barbarossa defeated all their attempts. On one occasion, he concealed the flower of his troops in a large tent, the gift of the Hungarian queen, and pretended to fly before the Turks, who no sooner commenced pillaging the abandoned camp than the knights rushed forth and cut them down. A Turkish prisoner who was driven in chains in advance of the army, in order to serve as guide, sacrificed his life for the sake of misleading the Christians amid the pathless mountains, where,

starving with hunger, tormented with thirst, foot-weary and faint, they were suddenly attacked on every side. Stones were rolled upon their heads as they advanced through the narrow gorge, and the young Duke of Swabia narrowly escaped, his helmet being struck off his head. Peace was now offered by the Turks on payment of a large sum of money; to this the emperor replied by sending them a small silver coin, which they were at liberty to divide among themselves, and pushing boldly forwards, beat off the enemy. The sufferings of the army rapidly increased; water was nowhere to be discovered, and they were reduced to the necessity of drinking the blood of their horses. The aged Emperor encouraged his troops by his words, and was answered by the Swabians, who raised their native war-song. His son, Frederic, hastened forwards with half the army, again defeated the Turks, and fought his way to Iconium, entered the city with the retreating enemy, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and gained an immense booty. Barbarossa was, meanwhile, surrounded by the Sultan's army. His soldiers were almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. The aged Emperor, believing his son lost, burst into tears. All wept around him; when suddenly rising he exclaimed, "Christ still lives, Christ conquers!" and heading his chivalry to the assault, they attacked the enemy, and gained a complete victory. Ten thousand Turks were slain. Several fell beneath the hand of Barbarossa himself, who emulated in his old age the deeds of his youth. Iconium, where plenty awaited them, was at length reached. After recruiting here, they continued their march as far as the little river Calicadnus (Seleph), in Cilicia, where the road happening to be blocked up with beasts of burden, the impatient old emperor, instead of waiting, attempted to cross the stream on horseback, and was carried away by the current. His body was recovered, and borne by his sorrowing army to Antioch, where it was entombed in St. Peter's Church, A.D. 1190.

The news of the death of their great emperor was received with incredulity by the Germans, whose dreamy hope of becoming one day ruled by a dynasty of mighty sovereigns, who should unite a peaceful world beneath their sway, at length almost identified itself with that of Barbarossa's return, and gave rise to legendary tales, which still record the popular feeling of the times. In a deep rocky cleft, in the Kylfhäuser Berg, on the Golden Meadow of Thuringia, still sleeps this great and noble emperor: his head resting on his arm, he sits by a granite block, through which his red beard has grown in the lapse of time; but, when the ravens no longer fly around the mountain, he will awake and restore the golden age to the expectant world. According to another legend, the Emperor sits, wrapped in sleep, in the Untersberg, near Salzburg; and when the dead pear-tree on the Waiserfeld, which has been cut down three times, but ever grows anew, blossoms, he will come forth, hang his shield on the tree, and commence a tremendous battle, in which the whole world will join, and the good shall overcome the wicked. The attachment which the Germans bore to this emperor is apparent in the action of one solitary individual, Conrad von Boppard, who bestowed a large estate on the monastery of Schonau, on condition of masses being read for ever for the repose of the soul of his departed sovereign. The little church on the Hohenstaufen, to which it was Barbarossa's custom to descend from the castle in order to hear mass, still stands, and over the walled-up doors may be read the words, "*hic transibat Cæsar.*" Excellent portraits of Frederic and Beatrice may still be seen to the right of the door of the church at Welzheim, which was founded by their son Philip. But the great palace, 710 feet in length, which he built at Gelnhausen, in honour of the beautiful Gela, who is said to have been the mistress of his youthful affections, and who renounced him against his will and took the veil, in order not to be an obstacle in his glorious career, lies in ruins.—*M.*

XIII.

THE GUELFs AND Ghibellines.

'The mere change of time and circumstances may alter the character of the same party without any change on its own part: its triumph may be at one time an evil and at another time a good. This is owing to a truth which should never be forgotten in all political enquiries, that government is wholly relative, and that there is and can be no such thing as the best government absolutely suited to all periods and to all countries. It is a fatal error in all political questions to mistake the clock; to fancy that it is still forenoon when the sun is westerling; that it is early morning when the sun has already mounted high in the heavens. No instance of this importance of reading the clock aright can be more instructive than the great quarrel ordinarily known as that of the Gueifs and Ghibellines. I may remind you that these were respectively the parties which embraced the papal and the imperial cause in the struggle between those two powers in Italy and Germany from the eleventh century onwards to the fourteenth. Here, as in all other actual contests, a great variety of principles and passions, and instincts, so to speak, were intermingled; we must not suppose that it was anything like a pure struggle on what may be called the distinguishing principle of the Gueif or Ghibelline cause. But the principle in itself was this: whether the papal or the imperial, in other words, the sacerdotal or the regal, power was to be accounted the greater. Now conceive the papal power to be the representative of what is moral and spiritual, and the imperial power to represent only what is external and physical; conceive the first to express the ideas of responsibility to God and paternal care and guidance, while the other was the mere embodying of selfish might like the old Greek tyrannies; and who can do other than wish success to the papal cause? who can help being with all his heart a Gueif? But in the early part of the struggle this was to a great degree the state of it: the pope stood in the place of the church; the emperor was a merely worldly despot, corrupt and arbitrary. But conceive, on the other hand, the papacy to become the representative of superstition and of spiritual tyranny, while the imperial power was the expression of and voice of law; that the emperor stood in the place of the church, and the pope was the mere priest, the church's worst enemy; and this was actually the form which the contest between the sacerdotal and regal powers assumed at a later period; then our sympathies are changed, and we become no less zealously Ghibelline than we before were Gueif.'—Arnold, *Lect. on Hist.*

XIV.

RUDOLF VON HABSBURG.

'The people, forgetful of their ancient glory, again desired an emperor, and the legendary superstition concerning the return of Barbarossa once more revived. The lower and weaker classes throughout the empire were bitterly sensible of the want of the protection of the crown, but the election of a successor to the throne would have been still longer neglected by the princes, had they not felt the necessity of setting a limit to the ambitious designs of Ottocar of Bohemia. A conference accordingly took place between them and the pope, and the election was not proceeded with until a fitting tool for their purposes had been discovered, and their prerogatives guarded by conditions and stipulations. The qualities required in the new emperor were courage and warlike habits, in order to insure a triumph over Ottocar;

a certain degree of popularity for the purpose of cajoling the people, and the blindest submission to the authority of the pope and princes.

'This political tool was found in Rudolf, Count von Habsburg, who had been held at the fount by Frederic II., a mark of distinction bestowed by that monarch for his father's faithful services. Rudolf had fought in Prussia (whither he had undertaken a crusade in expiation of the crime of burning down a convent during a feud with Basle) for Ottocar, by whom he had been knighted, and had since that period fought with equal bravery and skill for every party that chanced to suit his interests, at one moment aiding the nobles in their innumerable petty feuds against the cities of Strassburg and Basle, at another fighting under the banner of Strassburg against the bishop and the nobility, or making head in his own cause against the abbot of St. Gall, and his own uncle, the Count von Kyburg, on account of a disputed inheritance, &c. Werner, archbishop of Mayence, whom Rudolf had escorted across the Alps, mediated in his favour with the pope. He had also personally recommended himself as a zealous Guelph to the Pope Gregory X. at Mugello in the Apennines, and notwithstanding the feuds he had formerly carried on with the bishops and abbots, now played the part of a most humble servant of the church: he gained great fame, on one occasion, by leaping from his saddle, and presenting his horse to a priest who was carrying the pyx. He agreed, if elected, to yield unconditional obedience to the pope, to renounce all claim upon or interference with Italy, and to enter into alliance with the House of Anjou. Frederic von Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg (the ancestor of the Electors of Brandenburg and of the royal line of Prussia), acted as his mediator with the princes, to three of the most powerful among whom he offered his daughters in marriage,—to Louis of Pfalz-Bavaria (the cruel murderer of his first wife), Mechtilda; to Otto of Brandenburg, Hedwig; and to Albert of Saxony, Agnes. He moreover promised never to act, when emperor, without the consent of the princes; on every important occasion to obtain their sanction in writing, and confirmed them all, Ottocar of Bohemia excepted, in the possession of the territory belonging to the empire, and of the hereditary lands of the Staufen illegally seized by them. That the election of a new emperor by the pope and the princes merely hinged upon these conditions was perfectly natural, the whole power lying in their hands. This was the simple result of the downfall of the Staufen, and of the defeat of the Ghibellines.

'Rudolf, who was engaged in a feud with the city of Basle when Frederic von Zollern arrived with the news of his election, instantly concluded peace with that city, marched down the Rhine, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 1273. The real imperial crown and the sceptre were still in Italy; the latter was supplied, by way of flattery to the church, by a crucifix. The ceremony of coronation was enhanced by that of the marriage of his three daughters. Henry of Bavaria, the brother of Louis, was, after some opposition, also won over, and his son Otto wedded to his fourth daughter, Catherina. The lower classes in the empire were, nevertheless, filled with discontent. The coalition between the great vassals inspired them with the deepest apprehension. They were, however, pacified. The lower nobility, who had rendered themselves hated by their rapine and insolence, were at strife with the towns. Rudolf, who had, up to this period, been a mere military adventurer, a robber knight, now headed the great princes against his former associates, and reduced them all, even the wild Count Eberhard of Wurtemberg, to submission.

'The emperor continued henceforward to suppress petty feuds in person, and travelled from one diet to another for the purpose of passing resolutions for the peace of the country, and from one province to another for that of enforcing peace. He was surnamed the living or wandering law (*lex animata*), and numbers of his magnanimous and just actions and sayings became proverbial.—*M.*

XV.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE RISE OF THE PAPAL PRETENSIONS.

'In the ninth century, the power of the papacy was wholly spiritual. When an emperor marched on Rome to chastise the pontiff's contumacy, he met with no show of resistance, but with a parade of sacred ceremonies and solemn anthems, until he shrank appalled from the sacrilege he had been about to commit. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, instead of its previously slow and cautious progress, it advanced with alarming strides. From the time of Gregory the Great to the time of Charlemagne, its efforts had been directed to the establishment of its primacy and metropolitan jurisdiction over the whole church. But even after it had obtained high authority as the chief antagonist of Iconoclasm and Islamism, and as the protégé of Charlemagne, an authority which was indefinitely increased by the False Decretals, it found this no easy task. The French bishops of Louis le Débonnaire retorted on the pope, who menaced them with his thunders if they persisted in their loyalty, by a counter-threat of excommunication—"Si excommunicaturus venerit, excommunicatus abibit." Already had one bold voice, that of Claudius of Turin, broached the heretical doctrine that the apostolical power of St. Peter ceased with St. Peter. Nevertheless, the papal pretensions became more and more overbearing during the later Carolingians, till they almost anticipated the daring aggressions made on the crown in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the tenth century, the pontiffs were men of worthless character personally; their power was crippled by the progress of feudalism, and the Hungarians and Saxon invasions; and they found it their interest to take shelter again under the wing of the empire. The Otos, if they did not pretend to dictate on theological tenets, as Charlemagne had done, were, at all events, ecclesiastically as well as civilly supreme at Rome. From the time of Otto the Great, the nomination of the popes, and confirmation of their election, was the established imperial prerogative; and in the middle of the eleventh century three popes in succession were actually appointed by Henry III. Even Hildebrand refused to assume the tiara till Henry IV. had ratified the cardinals' choice. But he soon threw aside the mask of moderation. The reformation of the church was followed by the successful excommunication of the emperor; and the disappearance of the imperial stamp from the Roman coinage, together with the abandonment of imperial interference in the papal election, marked the reversed position of the two parties. Then came the era of the crusades, and along with it the immense aggrandisement of the clergy generally, and the papacy in particular. The violence of Henry V. only injured his own cause. French influence began to preponderate over German (vol. lxxxiv. No. clxvi.—New series, vol. xxviii. No. ii.) influence at Rome; and finally, at the election of Lothaire, it is no longer the imperial sanction which is considered requisite to the election of the pope, but the papal sanction to the election of the emperor.'—*West. Rev.* for Oct. 1865.

XVI.

THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND.

'Sigismund was now sole and uncontested emperor. The schism in the empire had been extinguished, first, by the death of the Emperor Rupert, then by that of Jodoc of Moravia, the competitor of Sigismund. He was

the most powerful emperor who for many years had worn the crown of Germany, and the one unoccupied sovereign in Europe. France and England were involved in ruinous war. Henry V., by the battle of Agincourt, had hopes of the conquest at least of half France. France, depressed by the melancholy lunacy of the king, by the long implacable feuds of the Armagnacs and Burgundians, by the English victories, had sunk far below her usual station in Christendom. Sigismund, as emperor, had redeemed the follies, vices, tyrannies of his youth. On his accession Sigismund declared that he should devote himself to the welfare of his subjects, as well in his own dominions as in the empire. His conduct justified his declaration. He enacted and put in execution wise laws. He made peace by just mediation between the conflicting principalities. He was averse to war, but not from timidity. His stately person, his knightly manners, his accomplishments, his activity, which bordered on restlessness, his magnificence, which struggled, sometimes to his humiliation, with his scanty means, had cast an unwonted and imposing grandeur, which might recall the great days of the Othos, the Henrys, the Frederics, around the imperial throne.

But nothing so raised and confirmed the influence of Sigismund as his avowed and steadfast resolution to terminate the schism in the church, and to compel the reformation of the clergy so imperiously demanded by all Christendom. This could be accomplished only by a general council, a council of greater authority, and more fully representing all the kingdoms and the whole hierarchy of Christendom, than that of Pisa.—*Mil. Hist. of L. C.*

XVII.

THE BOHEMIAN WAR AND JOHN ZISCA.

The Bohemians found at their head one of those extraordinary men whose genius, created by nature, and called into action by fortuitous events, appears to borrow no reflected light from that of others. John Zisca had not been trained in any school which could have initiated him in the science of war: that, indeed, except in Italy, was still rude, and nowhere more so than in Bohemia. But, self-taught, he became one of the greatest captains who had appeared hitherto in Europe. It renders his exploits more marvelous that he was totally deprived of sight. Zisca has been called the inventor of the modern art of fortification: the famous mountain near Prague, fanatically called Tabor, became by his skill an impregnable entrenchment. For his stratagems, he has been compared to Hannibal. In battle, being destitute of cavalry, he disposed at intervals ramparts of carriages filled with soldiers to defend his troops from the enemy's horse. His own station was by the chief standard, where, after hearing the circumstances of the situation explained, he gave his orders for the disposition of the army. Zisca was never defeated, and his genius inspired the Hussites with such enthusiastic affection that some of those who had served under him refused to obey any other general, and denominated themselves Orphans, in commemoration of his loss. He was indeed a ferocious enemy, though some of his cruelties might, perhaps, be extenuated by the law of retaliation, but to his soldiers affable and generous, dividing among them all the spoil.—*Hallam, M. A.*

XVIII.

HUNNIADES.

The last and the most splendid service of Hunniades was the relief of Belgrade. That strong city was besieged by Mahomet II. three years after the fall of Constantinople; its capture would have laid open all Hungary.

A tumultuary army, chiefly collected by the preaching of a friar, was entrusted to Hunniades; he penetrated into the city, and having repulsed the Turks in a fortunate sally, wherein Mahomet was wounded, had the honour of compelling him to raise the siege in confusion. The relief of Belgrade was more important in its effect than in its immediate circumstances. It revived the spirits of Europe, which had been appalled by the increasing victories of the infidels. Mahomet himself seemed to acknowledge the importance of the blow, and seldom afterwards attacked the Hungarians.—*Hallam, M. A.*

XIX.

MAXIMILIAN I.

'During Maximilian's eventful reign several efforts were made to construct a new constitution, but it is to German, not to imperial history, that they properly belong. Here indeed the history of the Holy Empire might close, did not the title unchanged beckon us on, and were it not that the events of latter centuries may in their causes be traced back to times when the name of Roman was not wholly a mockery. It can only be remarked that, while the preservation of peace, and the better administration of justice, was in some measure attained by the public peace and imperial chamber established in A.D. 1495, objects more important still failed through the bad constitution of the diet, and the unconquerable jealousy of the emperors and the estates. Maximilian refused to have his prerogative, indefinite, though weak, restricted by the appointment of an administrative council, and when the estates extorted it from him did his best to ensure its failure. In the diet, which consisted of three colleges, electors, princes, and cities, the lower nobility and knights of the empire were unrepresented, and resented every decree that affected their position, refusing to pay taxes in voting which they had no voice. The interests of the princes and the cities were often irreconcilable, while the strength of the crown would not have been sufficient to make its adhesion to the latter of any effect. The policy of conciliating the Commons, which Sigismund had tried, succeeding emperors seldom cared to repeat, content to gain their point by raising factions among the territorial magnates, and so to stave off the unwelcome demand for reform.—*Br. H. R. E.*

XX.

CHARLES V.'S EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS.

The voyage from Majorca to the African coast was not less tedious, or full of hazard, than that which he had just finished. When he approached the land, the roll of the sea, the vehemence of the winds, would not permit the troops to disembark. But at last the emperor, seizing a favourable opportunity, landed them without opposition not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army, Hasen had only eight hundred Turks and five thousand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Granada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty answer when summoned to surrender. But with such a handful of soldiers, neither his desperate courage nor consummate skill in war could have long resisted forces superior to those which had defeated Barbarossa at the head of sixty thousand men, and which had reduced Tunis in spite of all his endeavours to save it.

'But how far soever the emperor might think himself beyond the reach

of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for anything but to disperse some light-armed Arabs, who molested his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening, rain began to fall, accompanied with a violent wind; and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing ashore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents, or shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp, being in a low situation, was overflowed with water, and they sank at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning, he sallied out with soldiers, who, being screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians, who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them discovered greater courage; but as the rain had extinguished their matches, and wetted their powder, their muskets were useless; and having scarcely strengthened to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

'But all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger was quickly obliterated by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day; the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable: all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour, fifteen ships of war, and a hundred and fifty transports, with eight thousand men, perished; and such of the unhappy crews as escaped the fury of the sea were murdered without mercy by the Arabs as soon as they reached land. The emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that as many ships might escape as would be sufficient to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness; and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storm, to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day, a boat despatched by Doria made shift to reach land, with information that, having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years' knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to Cape Metafuz. He advised the emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.'—*Prescott's edit. of Robertson's Chas. V.*

XXI.

BATTLE OF PAVIA.

‘The imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched that, notwithstanding the powerful motives which urged them on, they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them; but at last the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own soldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the importance of the battle which they were going to fight; never were troops more strongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects to whose natural impetuosity, indignation at the opposition which they had encountered, added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought from necessity, with courage heightened by despair. The imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first efforts of the French valour, and their firmest battalions began to give way; but the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garrison, sallied out, and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara falling on their cavalry with the imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable body of Spanish foot armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal, and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to save his life at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. Among these was Bonnavet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The king, exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of farther resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered, together with Bourbon, into the emperor’s service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers, at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his traitorous subject; and calling for Lannoy, who happened likewise to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him, which he, kneeling to kiss the king’s hand, received with profound respect, and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying, “that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor’s subjects.”

‘Ten thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal France had ever seen. Among these were many noblemen of the highest distinction, who chose rather to perish than to turn their backs with dishonour. Not a few were taken prisoners, of whom the most illustrious was Henry D’Albert, the unfortunate King of Navarre. A small body of the rear-guard made its escape under the command of the Duke of Alençon; the feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired, without being pursued, by

another road, and in two weeks after the battle not a Frenchman remained in Italy.—*Robertson's Chas. V.*

XXII.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES V.

As Charles was the first prince of the age in rank and dignity, the part which he acted, whether we consider the greatness, the variety, or the success of his undertakings, was the most conspicuous. He possessed qualities so peculiar that they strongly mark his character, and not only distinguish him from the princes who were his contemporaries, but account for that superiority over them which he so long maintained. In forming his schemes, he was by nature, as well as by habit, cautious and considerate. Born with talents which unfolded themselves slowly, and were late in attaining maturity, he was accustomed to ponder every subject that demanded his consideration with a careful and deliberate attention. He bent the whole force of his mind towards it, and dwelling upon it with a serious application, undiverted by pleasure, and hardly relaxed by any amusement, he revolved it, in silence, in his own breast. He then communicated the matter to his ministers, and after hearing their opinions, took his resolution with a decisive firmness, which seldom follows such slow and seemingly hesitating consultations. Of consequence, Charles's measures, instead of resembling the desultory and irregular sallies of Henry VIII. or Francis I., had the appearance of a consistent system, in which all the parts were arranged, all the effects were foreseen, and even every accident was provided for. His promptitude in execution was no less remarkable than his patience in deliberation. He did not discover greater sagacity in his choice of the measures which it was proper to pursue, than fertility of genius in finding out the means of rendering his pursuit of them successful. Though he had naturally so little of the martial turn that, during the most ardent and bustling period of life, he remained in the cabinet inactive, yet, when he chose at length to appear at the head of his armies, his mind was so formed for vigorous exertions in every direction that he acquired such knowledge in the art of war, and such talents for command, as rendered him equal in reputation and success to the most able generals of the age. But Charles possessed, in the most eminent degree, the science which is of greatest importance to a monarch, that of knowing men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments which he allotted to them. From the death of Chievres to the end of his reign, he employed no general in the field, no minister in the cabinet, no ambassador to a foreign court, no governor of a province, whose abilities were inadequate to the trust which he reposed in them. Though destitute of that bewitching affability of manners which gained Francis the hearts of all who approached his person, he was no stranger to the virtues which secure fidelity and attachment. He placed unbounded confidence in his generals; he rewarded their services with munificence; he neither envied their fame nor discovered any jealousy of their power. Almost all the generals who conducted his armies may be placed on a level with those illustrious personages who have attained the highest eminence of military glory; and his advantages over his rivals are to be ascribed so manifestly to the superior abilities of the commanders whom he set in opposition to them, that this might seem to detract, in some degree, from his own merit, if the talent of discovering and steadiness in employing such instruments were not the most undoubted proofs of a capacity for government.

There were, nevertheless, defects in his political character which must considerably abate the admiration due to his extraordinary talents. Charles's ambition was insatiable; and though there seems to be no foundation for an

opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior policy and improvement of his kingdoms, the great object of every prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the imperial crown to the kingdom of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the Houses of Austria and Burgundy, this opened to him such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that, feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity as were dishonourable in a great prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries, Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concentrated plan.—*Robertson's Chas. V.*

XXIII.

THE SALE OF INDULGENCES.

'It has often been matter of surprise that the great contest of the Reformation should have turned upon so comparatively trivial a controversy as that which respected the indulgences—a point which was soon after absolutely forgotten. But it is not the first time that a skirmish of outposts has led to a general engagement. It may be added that, insignificant as that one point may at first sight appear, it was most natural that the contest should begin there. And though the tide of battle rolled away from it, partly because even the hardihood of Rome could scarcely dare to defend such a post, and partly because the reformers ceased to think of it in those more comprehensive corruptions which formed the object of their general assault (in which, indeed, this particular abuse, with many others like it, originated), it was not only the most natural point at which the conflict should begin but it was most improbable that it should not begin there. Habituated as men's minds were to the corruptions of the church, steeped in superstition from their very childhood, it could only be by some revolting paradox that they could possibly be roused to think, examine, and reconstitute. The whole enormous expansion of papal power had been but one long experiment on the patience and credulity of mankind. Each successive imposition was, it is true, worse than that which had preceded it; but when once it had fastened itself upon men's minds, and they had grown familiar with it, there was no further chance of awakening them from their apathy. Something further was needed, and a still more prodigious corruption must minister the hope of reformation. Now, indulgences, as proclaimed in the gross system of Tetzels, and of other spiritual quacks like him, was at once the ultimate and consistent limit of that huckstering in "merits," to which almost all the other corruptions of the church had been more plausibly subservient; and formed just that startling exaggeration of familiar abuses which was necessary to awaken men's minds to reconsideration. The notion

of selling pardons for sins, wholesale and retail—of collecting into one great treasury the superfluous merits of the saints, and of doling them out by the pennyweight at prices fixed in the compound ratio of the necessities and means of the purchaser—was a notion which, however monstrous, however calculated to awaken the drowsy consciences of mankind, was in harmony with the specious nonsense of works of supererogation, and the doctrine of penance. It was simply the substitution of the more valuable medium of solid coin for mechanical rites of devotion, tiresome pilgrimages, and acts of austerity; of golden chalices or silver candlesticks for scourges and horse-hair shirts; and, provided it implied the same amount of self-denial, what did it matter? The former plan was undeniably more profitable to Holy Church, and as to the penitent, few in our day but will admit that either plan was likely to be equally efficacious. The substitution of the merits of great saints for the transgressions of great sinners, or the remission of the pains of purgatory, might, for aught we can see, be as reasonably effected by pounds, shillings, and pence, as by walking twenty miles with pebbles in one's shoes.

* The system of indulgences, therefore—in the grosser form in which such men as Tetzels proclaimed it—was but the dark aphelion of the eccentric orbit in which the Church of Christ had wandered; and from that point it naturally began to retrace its path to "the fountain itself of heavenly radiance."—*Rodger's Essays, E. R.*

XXIV.

LUTHER'S WRITINGS.

* Even if Luther's writings were less fraught with the traces of a vigorous intellect than they are, there are two achievements of his, the like of which were never performed except where there was great genius. First, such was his mastery over his native language that, under his plastic hand and all-subduing energy, it ceased to be a rugged and barbarous dialect almost unfit for the purposes of literature; for which, indeed, he may be said to have created it. Secondly, he achieved, almost single-handed, the translation of the whole Scriptures, and (whatever the faults which necessarily arose from the defective scholarship of the age) with such idiomatic strength and racy energy, that his version has ever been the object of universal veneration, and is unapproachable by any which has since appeared. . . . When we reflect that these works were not the productions of retired leisure but composed amidst all the oppressive duties and incessant interruptions of a life like his, we pause aghast at the energy of character which they display; and wonder that that busy brain and ever-active hand could sustain their office so long. Of the distracting variety and complication of his engagements, he gives us, in more than one of his letters, an amusing account. Their very contents, indeed, bear witness to them. The centre and main-spring of the whole great movement—the principal counsellor in great emergencies—the referee in disputes and differences amongst his own party—solicited for advice alike by princes and scholars, and pastors, on all sorts of matters, public and private—having the "care of all the churches," and beset at the same time by a host of inveterate and formidable adversaries—the wonder is, not that he discharged many of his duties imperfectly, but that he could find time to discharge them at all.

* But whatever the merits of Luther's writings, it has been already admitted that it is not in them that we recognise the chief evidences of the power and compass of his intellect. His pretensions to be considered one of the great minds of his species, are more truly, as well as more wisely, rested

opinion prevalent in his own age, that he was not of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, but of being distinguished as a conqueror, and a warrior, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but leisure for giving attention to the interior of his kingdoms, the great object of every prince, and the people the end of his government. Charles, having added the imperial crown to the kingdom of Austria, and the hereditary dominions of the Houses of Austria and Spain, such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged himself in as well as arduous, that, feeling his power limited by them, he had often recourse to low artifices, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from honourable in a great prince. His insidious and more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious by an open and undesigning character of his contemporary, VIIL. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to the principles of their political conduct as affords some ground for Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a rule, and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of passion, headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and concentrated plan.—*Robertson's Chas. V.*

XXIII.

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* It has often been matter of surprise that the great reformation should have turned upon so comparatively trivial a point which respected the indulgences—a point which was utterly forgotten. But it is not the first time that a slight led to a general engagement. It may be added that, on one point may at first sight appear, it was most natural that should begin there. And though the tide of battle ran partly because even the hardihood of Rome could scarce support such a post, and partly because the reformers ceased to attack more comprehensive corruptions which formed the object of assault (in which, indeed, this particular abuse, with many others originated), it was not only the most natural point at which should begin but it was most improbable that it should not. Habituated as men's minds were to the corruptions of the church in superstition from their very childhood, it could only be by a paradox that they could possibly be roused to think, examine, and reform. The whole enormous expansion of papal power had been long experiment on the patience and credulity of mankind. The imposition was, it is true, worse than that which had been once it had fastened itself upon men's minds, and with it, there was no further chance of awakening. Something further was needed, and a still more powerful minister the hope of reformation. Now, indulgences, the gross system of Tetzels, and of other spiritual quackery, the ultimate and consistent limit of that huckstering system, almost all the other corruptions of the church had been subservient; and formed just that startling exaggeration which was necessary to awaken men's minds to reform.

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on his actions ;—on the skill and conduct which he displayed through all the long conflict with his gigantic adversary, and the ineffaceable traces which he left of himself on the mind of his age, and on that of all succeeding ages.'—*Rodger's Essays, E. R.*

XXV.

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

' The Peace of Westphalia was the first, and with the exception, perhaps, of the Treaties of Vienna in 1815, the most important of those attempts to reconstruct by diplomacy the European state-system which have played so large a part in modern history. It is important, however, not as marking the introduction of new principles, but as the winding up of the struggle which had convulsed Germany since the revolt of Luther; sealing its results, and closing definitively the period of the Reformation. Although the causes of disunion which the religious movement called into being had now been at work for more than a hundred years, their effects were not fully seen till it became necessary to establish a system which should represent the altered relations of the German states. It may thus be said of this famous peace, as of the other so-called "fundamental law of the empire," the Golden Bull, that it did no more than legalise a condition of things already in existence, but which by being legalised acquired new importance. To all parties alike the result of the Thirty Years' War was thoroughly unsatisfactory: to the Protestants, who had lost Bohemia, and must still hold an inferior place in the electoral college and in the diet; to the Catholics, who were forced to permit the exercise of heretical worship, and leave the church lands in the grasp of sacrilegious spoilers; to the princes, who could not throw off the burden of imperial supremacy; to the emperor, who could turn that supremacy to no practical account. No other conclusion was possible to a contest in which everyone had been vanquished and no one victorious: which had ceased because, while the reasons for war continued, the means of war had failed. Nevertheless, the substantial advantage remained with the German princes, for they gained the formal recognition of that territorial independence whose origin may be placed as far back as the days of Frederic II., and the maturity of which had been hastened by the events of the last preceding century. It was, indeed, not only recognised but justified as rightful and necessary; for while the political situation, to use a current phrase, had changed within the last two hundred years, the eyes with which men regarded it had changed still more. Never by their fiercest enemies in earlier times, not once by the popes, or the Lombard republicans in the heat of their strife with the Franconian and Saxonian Caesars, had the emperors been reproached as mere German kings, or their claim to be the lawful heirs of Rome denied. The Protestant jurists of the sixteenth century were the first persons who ventured to scoff at the pretended lordship of the world, and declare their empire to be nothing more than a German monarchy, in dealing with which no superstitious reverence need prevent its subjects from making the best terms they could for themselves, and controlling a sovereign whose religious predilections made him the friend of their enemies. By stating a full recognition of the sovereignty of all the princes, Catholic and Protestant alike, in their respective territories, France and Sweden bound the emperor from all direct interference with the administration either in particular districts or throughout the empire. All affairs of public importance, including the rights of making war or peace, of levying contributions, raising troops, building fortresses, passing or interpreting laws, were henceforth to be left entirely in the hands of the diet. The aulic council, which

had been sometimes the engine of imperial oppression, and always of imperial intrigue, was so restricted as to be harmless for the future. The "reservata" of the emperor were confined to the rights of granting titles and confirming tolls. In matters of religion an exact though not perfectly reciprocal equality was established between the two chief ecclesiastical bodies, and the right of "Itio in partes," that is to say, of deciding questions in which religion was involved by amicable negotiations between the Protestant and Catholic States, instead of by a majority of votes in the diet, was definitely admitted. Both Lutherans and Calvinists (now the Evangelical Church of Germany) were declared free from all jurisdiction of the pope or any Catholic prelate. Thus the last link which bound Germany to Rome was snapped; the last of the principles by virtue of which the empire had existed was abandoned; for the empire now contained and recognised as its members persons who formed a visible body at open war with the Holy Roman Church, and its constitution admitted schismatics to a full share in all those civil rights, which, according to the doctrines of the early middle age, could be enjoyed by no one who was out of the communion of the Catholic Church. The Peace of Westphalia was therefore an abrogation of the sovereignty of Rome, and of the theory of Church and State with which the name of Rome was associated. And in this light was it regarded by Pope Innocent X., who commanded his prelate to protest against it, and subsequently declared it void by the bull "Zelo domus Dei."

* The transference of power within the empire, from its head to its members, was a small matter compared with the losses which the empire suffered as a whole. The real gainers by the treaties of Westphalia were those who had borne the brunt of the battle against Ferdinand II. and his son. To France were ceded Brisac and the Austrian part of Alsace, and the lands of the three bishoprics in Lorraine, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which her armies had seized in A.D. 1552; to Sweden, Northern Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden. And as it was by their aid that the liberties of the Protestants had been won, these states obtained at the same time what was more valuable than territorial accessions,—the right of interfering at imperial elections, and generally whenever the provisions of the treaties of Osnabrück and Münster, which they had guaranteed, might be supposed to be endangered. The bounds of the empire were further narrowed by the final separation of two countries, once integral parts of Germany, and up to this time legally members of her body. Holland and Switzerland were in A.D. 1648 declared independent.—*Br.*

XXVI.

HORRORS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

* All armies draw after them a train of camp followers. They are a plague which in the very nature of things is inevitable. But never perhaps did this evil rise to so enormous a height as now. Towards the close of this war an imperial army of 40,000 men were found to be attended by the ugly accompaniment of 140,000 of these. The conflict had, in fact, by this time lasted so long that the soldiery had become as a distinct nation camping in the midst of another; and the march of an army like that of some wild nomade horde, moving with wives and children through the land. And not with these only. There were others, too, in its train, as may easily be supposed: troops of unchaste women (readers of Walter Scott will remember Dugald Dalgetty's inopportune attempt to explain to the Lady of Ardenvoehr the arrangements for preserving some sort of order among these), gangs of gipsies, hordes of Jewish sutlers, watching to make their gain by purchasing

many thousands of very idle monks; and it is justice to him to say that the "Religionskasse," or religious fund, produced by these measures, which he devoted to certain specified objects of public utility, as well as paying the pensions of the ex-religious, seems by the best accounts to have been conscientiously administered.

'In three or four years, serfdom, properly so called, was absolutely extinguished in the German provinces. "Frohndienste," or compulsory services, were rendered redeemable on very easy terms. For the first time—at least since the reign of Sobieslas, the peasant prince, "der Bauern-König," in 1176—the enjoyment of the fruits of the earth seemed to be guaranteed to him who produced them. Happily for itself, as well as for mankind, the government of Leopold, forced as it was to undo much of Joseph's work, was able by temporising and management to retain this portion. In point of fact, it would have been unsafe to make even the attempt to undo it; for the peasantry were aware of the advantage they had won. It was said that nine-tenths of the compulsory dues in Bohemia had been redeemed by the end of Joseph's reign.

'One more of Joseph's achievements was permanent and complete, having withstood all serious encroachment even during the several flood-tides of reaction which have followed. This was his Toleration Edict, the *Magna Charta* of Austrian religious liberty.

'And although the church afterwards recovered in the main that supremacy of which Joseph had deprived it, the legal, and, generally speaking, the practical, freedom of those who dissent from it has ever since remained secure.'—*Moriscs, Hist. Studies.*

XXVIII.

CATHERINE OF RUSSIA.

'As it was, no more remained of a name and influence once so gigantic than of the unsubstantial shows with which his dexterity had amused his sovereign in the wilderness. And scarcely more durable, some writers have added, were most of the monuments of her past activity which this illustrious woman herself left behind her. Death surprised her, after thirty-four years of constant successes, still planning further schemes of aggression and aggrandisement—designing to trample out both the Mussulman and the Jacobin; with Constantinople, Paris, and Teheran, and Stockholm, full in view, as the objects, no longer to appearance remote, of her daring ambition. But the loftier purposes of her youth, her essays at material and moral civilisation, were not indeed abandoned; she never lost sight of them, but adjourned, as it proved, indefinitely. "Avant la mort de Catherine," says Masson, "la plupart des monuments de son règne ressemblaient déjà à des débris; législation, colonies, éducation, institut, fabriques, bâtiments, hôpitaux, canaux, villes, forteresses, tout avait été commencé et abandonné avant d'être achevé." Nor could it be said, great and popular as her name had been among the Russians, that she had effected any substantial change in the national character; but she had effectually aroused the national spirit. She had inspired them with that thorough martial confidence in the valour of the armies and the star of their destiny which has since carried them, either triumphant or at least unbroken, through so many a struggle. Except in this particular, the generation which saw her buried, boyars and serfs alike, was probably much the same, in habits, tendencies, and education, with that which had beheld her mount the throne. Her hand was not equal to the work of stripping any large portion of the aged rind from the rich fruit within. Her influence on her era was very great; but it was

indirect, and more felt perhaps by the world at large than by Russia in particular. Her achievements were those of a clear decisive intellect and generous spirit, unseduced by the common shows of things, and unterrified by vulgar dangers; which could establish the theory of monarchy on the naked utilitarian basis of the greatest good of the greatest number; which could carry to the throne, and practise on the throne, but with prudence, the maxims of a few mere thinkers, despicable in the eyes of ordinary politicians, and could astonish the latter by proving that neither state nor church fell down in consequence, but seemed to attain additional security. She dared follow to its results that fearless optimism which habitually assumed the best respecting men and their motives, and deemed harsh punishment and violent coercion simply evils in themselves, unadapted to the real exigencies of human nature, imperfect instruments, of which the use required apology.—*Merivale, Hist. Studies.*

XXIX.

THE BATTLE OF LIGNY.

'The better to conceal his real designs, Napoleon made great demonstrations against St. Armand on his left; but meanwhile he collected his principal force, concealed from the enemy, opposite the Prussian centre at Ligny, which was to be the real point of attack. St. Armand was carried, after a vigorous resistance, by the French corps under Vandamme; and no sooner was the enemy's attention fixed on that quarter, whither reinforcements were directed by Blücher, than Napoleon's centre, 30,000 strong, commanded by Gerard, issued from its concealment, crossed the streamlet of Ligny, and, pushing up the opposite bank, commenced a furious assault on the village of the same name. But if the attack was vehement, the resistance was not less obstinate; three times Ligny was taken by the impetuous assault of the French grenadiers, and three times the Prussians, with invincible resolution, returned to the charge, and with desperate valour regained the post at the point of the bayonet. Each army had behind its own side of the village immense masses of men, with which the combat was constantly fed; and at length the struggle became so desperate that neither party could completely, by bringing up fresh columns, expel the enemy, but they fought hand to hand in the streets and houses with unconquerable resolution; while the fire of 200 pieces of cannon, directed on the two sides against the village, spread death equally among friend and foe. At seven o'clock, after three hours' furious combat, nothing was yet decided; and Blücher, by directing in person a fresh corps against St. Armand, had retaken part of that village and an important height adjoining, commanding a large part of the field of battle.

'By degrees, however, all Blücher's reserves were engaged, and his position became very critical; for the attack of the French centre continued with unparalleled vigour, and neither Bülow's corps had come up on the one flank nor the much wished for British succours on the other. Both parties, almost equally exhausted, dispatched the most urgent orders to their other corps or allies to join them: that of Napoleon at this juncture was so pressing that he declared to Ney that the fate of France depended on his instantly obeying it, and ordered D'Erlon's corps, 23,000 strong, forming that marshal's reserve, forthwith to defile towards Ligny. Ney, however, so far from being in a condition to make the prescribed movement, was himself with difficulty contending against defeat at Quatre-Bras; but a happy accident almost supplied his loss. At seven o'clock, D'Erlon's corps, which had been stationed by that marshal in reserve two leagues from Quatre-Bras, withdrawn from there by the positive orders of the emperor, made its appearance on the extreme

opinion prevalent in his own age, that he had formed the chimerical project of establishing an universal monarchy in Europe, it is certain that his desire of being distinguished as a conqueror involved him in continual wars, which not only exhausted and oppressed his subjects, but left him little leisure for giving attention to the interior policy and improvement of his kingdoms, the great object of every prince who makes the happiness of his people the end of his government. Charles, at a very early period of life, having added the imperial crown to the kingdom of Spain, and to the hereditary dominions of the Houses of Austria and Burgundy, this opened to him such a vast field of enterprise, and engaged him in schemes so complicated as well as arduous, that, feeling his power to be unequal to the execution of them, he had often recourse to low artifices unbecoming his superior talents, and sometimes ventured on such deviations from integrity as were dishonourable in a great prince. His insidious and fraudulent policy appeared more conspicuous, and was rendered more odious, by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of his contemporaries, Francis I. and Henry VIII. This difference, though occasioned chiefly by the diversity of their tempers, must be ascribed, in some degree, to such an opposition in the principles of their political conduct as affords some excuse for this defect in Charles's behaviour, though it cannot serve as a justification of it. Francis and Henry seldom acted but from the impulse of their passions, and rushed headlong towards the object in view. Charles's measures, being the result of cool reflection, were disposed into a regular system, and carried on upon a concentrated plan.—*Robertson's Chas. V.*

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-
- I. The Carolingian Emperors.** From the Treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843, till 911.
- [**House of Franconia.** Conrad I., Duke of Franconia; from 911 till 918. With this monarch, after whose death the Imperial dignity was transferred to the House of Saxony, the crown became elective, and remained so for nine centuries.]
- II. House of Saxony.** From Henry I. *the Fowler*, 919, till 1024. The Saxon line of Emperors lasted about 100 years. Five Emperors of this House.
- III. House of Franconia.** From Conrad II. *the Salic*, 1024, till 1125. The Franconian line also lasted about 100 years. Five Emperors of this House.
- [Between the House of Franconia and the House of Hohenstaufen came the *Emperor Lothaire II. of Saxony*; 1125.]
- IV. House of Swabia or Hohenstaufen.** From Conrad III., 1138, till 1250, the period of the Great Interregnum. This Dynasty was interrupted by the *Emperor Otto IV. of Saxony, the Great*; 1208.
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